(17)

858c

# ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

# MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

# ANTIQUITY.

# ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

# MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

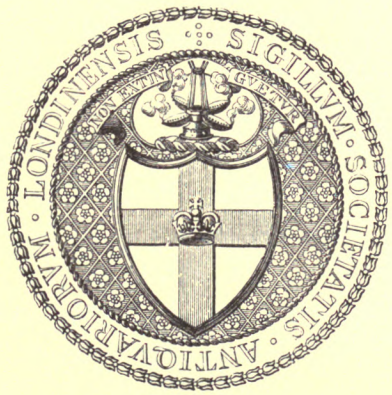
RELATING TO

# ANTIQUITY.

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

VOLUME XLVII.




LONDON :

PRINTED BY NICHOLS AND SONS, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN BURLINGTON HOUSE.

M.DCCC.LXXXIII.

DA
20
A64
v.47, pt 2

21710

# TABLE OF CONTENTS.


PAGE

I.—*The "Ritual Ordinance" of Neophytus. By the Rev.* Frederick Edward Warren, *B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford; and an Account of the "Misfortunes of Cyprus" by Neophytus, and the Condition of the Island in his time. By* Edwin Freshfield, *Esq., F.S.A.* - - - - - - - 1—40

II.—*Architectural History of St. Hugh's Choir in Lincoln Cathedral. By* John Henry Parker, *C.B., Hon. M.A. Oxon., F.S.A.* 41—48

III.—*Injunctions of John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, to certain Monasteries in his Diocese. By* Edward Peacock, *Esq., F.S.A., in a Letter to C. Knight Watson, Esq, M.A., Secretary* 49—64

IV.—*On the Constitutional History of the Bermudas, the oldest remaining British Plantation. By Lieut.-Gen. Sir* John Henry Lefroy, *C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S.* - - - - - 65—82

V.—*The First Charter of Liberties given by Penn to Pennsylvania, described in a Letter from* Richard Almack, *Esq., F.S.A., to Augustus Wollaston Franks, Esq., M.A., formerly Director S.A., with Remarks by* Henry Salusbury Milman, *Esq., M.A., Director S.A.* - - - - - - - 83—88

VI.—*The Custumary of the Manor and Soke of Rothley, in the County of Leicester. By* George Thomas Clark, *Esq., F.S.A.* 89—130

VII.—*The Grave-Mounds of Lunkhofen, in the Canton of Aargau, Switzerland. By Dr.* Ferdinand Keller, *Hon. F.S.A, with a Translation by* William Michael Wylie, *Esq., F.S.A.* - 131—136

VIII.—*On a Hoard of Gold Nobles found at Bremeridge Farm, Westbury, Wilts. By the Rev.* John Baron, *D.D., F.S.A., Rector of Upton Scudamore, Wilts* - - - - - - 137—156

IX.—*The Fret or Key Ornamentation in Mexico and Peru. By* Robert Philips Greg, *Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S., &c.* - - 157—160

PAGE

X.—*On the Sculptured Tympanum of a former Doorway in the Church of South Ferriby, Lincolnshire. By* Charles Edward Keyser, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.* - - - - 161—178

XI.—*Notes on a Selection of ancient Charters, Letters, and other Documents from the Muniment Room of Sir John Lawson, of Brough Hall, near Catterick, in Richmondshire, Baronet. By* Charles Spencer Perceval, *Esq., LL.D., Treasurer* - 179—204

XII.—*On the Mithraeum of Spoleto. By* Henry Charles Coote, *Esq., F.S.A.* - - - - - - - - 205—208

XIII.—"*Thinges Nedefull for this Present State,*" *by John Mountgomery,* 1562. *Communicated by* Aucher Cornwall Taylor, *Esq. With a Preface and notes by* Edward Maunde Thompson, *Esq., F.S.A., Keeper of Manuscripts and Egerton Librarian in the British Museum* - - - - - 209—241

XIV.—*Copy of a Letter to Mary Queen of Scots, and a Bond of Secretary Maitland. Communicated in a Letter from* Richard Almack, *Esq., F.S.A., to Augustus Wollaston Franks, Esq., M.A., formerly Director. With Remarks by* Henry Salusbury Milman, *Esq., M.A., Director* - - - - 242—248

XV.—*The "Remonstrance" of Anne of Cleves. Communicated by the* Rev. William Dunn Macray, *M.A., F.S.A.* - 249—264

XVI.—*On certain Inaccuracies in the ordinary Accounts of the early years of the Reign of King Edward IV. Communicated by* Charles Spencer Perceval, *Esq., LL.D., Treasurer* - 265—294

XVII.—*Sir John Daunce's Accounts of Money received from the Treasurer of the King's Chamber temp. Henry VIII. Communicated by* Charles Trice Martin, *Esq., F.S.A.* - - - 295—336

XVIII.—*On a German Astronomico-Astrological Manuscript, and on the Origin of the Signs of the Zodiac. By* Robert Brown, *Jun., Esq., F.S.A.* - - - - - - 337—360

XIX.—*Notes on the Imagery of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster.* [*See also* XXVIII. *below.*] *By* John Thomas Micklethwaite, *Esq., F.S.A.* - - - - 361—380

XX.—*On the Recent Discoveries of Portions of Old Saint Paul's Cathedral. By* Francis Cranmer Penrose, *Esq., F.R.I.B A., Surveyor to the Fabric of St. Paul's* - - - 381—392

PAGE

XXI.—*The Diamond Signet of Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I. By* Charles Drury Edward Fortnum, *Esq., F.S.A.* - 393—408

XXII.—*Some Historical Aspects of the English Law of Attainder and Forfeiture for High Treason. Communicated by* Alfred Bailey, *Esq.* - - - - - - 409—428

XXIII.—*Excavations at Cæsar's Camp near Folkestone, conducted in June and July*, 1878, *by Major-General* Augustus H. L. F. Pitt-Rivers, *F.R.S., F.S.A.—Notes on the two sets of Bones from Cæsar's Camp, Folkestone, and from Mount Caburn, near Lewes. By Professor* Rolleston, *F.R.S., &c.* - - 429—465

XXIV.—*On the Antiquity of the Egyptian Calendar. By* Francis Roubiliac Conder, *Esq., C.E.* - - - - 466—470

XXV.—*On a Wall-Painting discovered at Westminster Abbey in* 1882. [*See also* Appendix.] *In a Letter from* John Henry Middleton, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A., to Christopher Knight Watson, Esq., M.A., Secretary* - - - - - 471—472

XXVI.—*On Two Bronze Fragments of an unknown object, portions of the Petrie Collection, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. By* Miss Margaret Stokes - 473—480

XXVII.—*On a Latin Note to the Bodleian MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle concerning the Origin of the Æra Dionysiana.* [*See* Vol. xliv. Art. xx.] *In a Letter from* Robert Cradock Nichols, *Esq., F.S.A., to Augustus Wollaston Franks, Esq., Director* - - - - - - 481—482

XXVIII.—*On an unexplained Figure in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. In a Letter from* John Thomas Micklethwaite, *Esq., F.S.A., to Henry Salusbury Milman, Esq., Director* - - 483—485

## APPENDIX.

*Further Note on the Wall-Paintings discovered in the Cellarer's buildings at Westminster Abbey in February*, 1882. [*See* XXV. *above.*] *In a Letter from* John Henry Middleton, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A., to Henry Salusbury Milman, Esq., M.A., Director* 489

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.


| PLATE | | | PAGE |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. | MS. of Neophytus * | facing | 9 |
| | St. Hugh's Choir, Lincoln, viz. :— | | |
| II. III. | Plan, Sections | between | 44-5 |
| | Penn's Signature and Seal | on | 85 |
| | Lunkhofen Grave-Mounds, viz. :— | | |
| | Forms of Mounds | on | 131 |
| | Plan of Lunkhofen Mounds | on | 132 |
| V. | Objects found | facing | 133 |
| IV. | Gold Nobles | facing | 154 |
| VI. | Fret Ornamentation | facing | 158 |
| | South Ferriby Tympanum | on | 161 |
| | Little Paxton Tympanum | on | 166 |
| | Mithraeum—Altar and Columns | on | 206 |
| VII. | ,, Plan | facing | 206 |
| | Secretary Maitland's Signature | on | 247 |
| | Sir John Daunce's Arms and Crest | on | 297 |
| | Astronomical Signs—MS. XV$^{th}$ Cent. | between | 338-9 |
| VIII. | Astronomical Figures—Babylonian Stone, viz. :— | | |
| | Two Altars | on | 350 |
| | Scorpio | on | 351 |
| | Capricornus and his Horns | on | 353 |
| IX. | Signs of the Zodiac—St. Margaret's, York | facing | 360 |


* Presented by Edwin Freshfield, Esq., F.S.A.

| | | | PAGE |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster, viz.:— | | |
| X. | Synopsis of Images inside | facing | 362 |
| XI. | St. Martin, St. Wilgefort, St. Nicholas | facing | 373 |
| XII. | St. Thomas of Cant., Allhallows?, a Philosopher | facing | 375 |
| | Old St. Paul's, viz.:— | | |
| XIII. | Axis and Site of old Cathedral | facing | 386 |
| | View of Paul's Cross | on | 387 |
| XIV. | Foundations of Old Cathedral | between | 390-1 |
| XV. | „ Paul's Cross | | |
| | Seal of Queen Henrietta Maria | on | 400 |
| | „ Charles I. | on | 401 |
| | „ Charles (I.) Prince of Wales | on | 403 |
| | „ Queen Mary of Modena | on | 404 |
| | Cæsar's Camp near Folkestone, viz. :— | | |
| XVI. | Plan | between | 460-1 |
| XVII. | Sections | | |
| XVIII. | Objects—Iron | facing | 462 |
| XIX. | „ Stone, Copper, Silver, Lead | | |
| XX. | „ Bone, Earthenware | facing | 464 |
| XXI. | Bronze Fragments in R. I. A. Mus. Dublin | facing | 474 |
| XXII. | Restoration of Radiated Crown | facing | 475 |
| XXIII. | The Crown of Thorns | facing | 477 |
| XXIV. | Bone Carvings from Slieve na Calliaghe | facing | 478 |
| XXV. | Spiral Design on Tombs in Ireland | | |
| XXVI. XXVII. | Paintings in Tempera at Westminster Abbey | facing | 490 |

# ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 2, line 9 from foot, *after* "translation." *add* "It is reprinted in 'Memorials of Richard I.' [M.R. Ser.], vol. i. 1864, with an English translation."

,, 2, line 8 from foot, *after* "volume" *add* "of Cotelerius."

,, 36, line 5 of text, *for* ἐρέως *read* ἱερέως.

,, 37, Title
,, 38, Heading
,, 40, } *for* "Description" *read* "Misfortunes."

,, 37, line 4 of text, *after* "2," *add* "and in 'Memorials of Richard I.' [M.R. Ser.], vol i."

,, 128, line 14 from foot, *for* "Flightwyte" *read* "Plightwyte."

,, 163, note [a], *for* "J. B." *read* "Sir J."

,, 308, line 1 of text, *dele* "to Cromwell." The letter is among Cromwell's correspondence, but was not written to him, as it commences "Master Doctor." The person addressed is probably Henry Goderike, who writes on the same subject.

,, 375, line 2 from foot of text, *add to* "Plate XII." *a foot-note*, "[b] See Art. XXVIII. p. 483."

,, 437, line 7 from foot of text, and note [d], *for* "Suédois" *read* "Suédoises."

,, 451, line 8 of text, *after* "here" *change* , *to* : *and after* "suffice" *add* "it."

,, 464, line 7 of text, *for* "bénitoire" *read* "bénitier."

,, 472, *add* [Note. The Wall-Painting mentioned in this Letter, and another discovered in the same room since its date, are fully described and figured in the Appendix, p. 489.]

Here by the waye wee maye take occasion to remember Callis, and not to forgeat Roane, whiche, yf they hadde beene well guarded, hadde not tasted of the bitter sorrowes that of late they didde, as all men knowes.

Lett vs nowe thearfore preavent the olde saiinge of the Frenche nacion vpon vs: that and yf ower forewitte weare as good as ower after witte, theare weare none to be compared to vs. Lett vs not spare the lesse and leese the more, but give whithe a goode cowradge, accordinge to the olde saiinge: they must liberallie spend that will pleantifullie gaine; ande after busie laboure cometh quiet rest. Thus, as feawe woordes to the wise doeth suffice, so doe I thincke this at this preasent to be sufficient. Thus ffinishinge an ende, I conclude w$^{th}$ homble peticion firste to Allmightie Godde, that he woulde voutsaulfe to inspire the godlie governoures whithe his spirite of wisdome, that theye maye in tyme forsee, and by theire prudent pollicie preavent, the pearrill whiche for want of diewe consideracon mighte per happes ensue. Yt is bothe godlie and proffitable to provide by good order a waye whearby of the idell servitor to make an expert souldior, and for realiefe of the succourles, hurte in the deafence of his contrie, a place of hospitallitie apoincted; whiche provizo beinge executed in this realme, doubtles yt shoulde bee to the glorie of Godde, the increase of experte men, a terroure to thenimye, a deafence of ower contrie, an encowradge to the servitour, and, finallie, muche quietnes to ower selves. As I hertelye praye and wishe for the same to bee hadd amongest vs, eaven so I shall beseache the gentell reader hearof not to take this my poore travaile and goode meaninge yn anie yll parte, and for my true and faithefull zeale towardes my contrie to be reaputed a busie boddie, a corrector, a learner, or a teacher, but rather except my goode hert and obedience to my Prince ande contrie; some parte whearof I have, accordinge to my poore skill, vttered, and in homelye order declared, the practizes whearof in other contries I have sene experienced, and good seaquell therof allwaies hathe ensued. The like to my contrie I wishe and shall praye for to allmightie God, whoe sende the Quenes Maiestie longe ande prosperous rainge yn trancquillitie and peace, hirr moste honorable councilloures muche wisdome and prudence, that they, firste seakinge the glorie of Gode ande suppressinge all wickednes, may provide for the seacuritye ande deafence of this realme. And thus, thinckinge yt sufficient that hathe beene written hearin, I ende.

Pro: 21.
The horse ys prepared againste the
daye of battayll, but the Lorde
gyueth the victorie.

XIV.—*Copy of a Letter to Mary Queen of Scots, and a Bond of Secretary Maitland. Communicated in a Letter from* Richard Almack, *Esq., F.S.A., to Augustus Wollaston Franks, Esq., M.A., formerly Director. With Remarks by* Henry Salusbury Milman, *Esq., M.A., Director.*

Read June 15, 1865.

My dear Sir,

It may be considered improbable that any new light can be thrown on the history of Mary Queen of Scots; but the interest in her romantic story never ceases. I have in my possession a document which relates to an important event in her life. I am inclined to make it known to the public in consequence of the recent publication by the Society of Antiquaries of the interesting communication by the Rev. R. S. Ellis, respecting the imprisonment, death, and burial in Denmark of the Earl of Bothwell (see *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxviii).

The paper which I produce purports to be the draft or copy of a letter, dated 27th April, 1567, sent to the Queen by some of her nobility and subjects three days after Bothwell had forcibly taken her to the castle of Dunbar.

On the 24th April, Bothwell seized her on her way from Stirling to Edinburgh, and also the Earl of Huntley, Secretary Maitland, and James Melvile. On the morrow these three were set at liberty.

It appears from this letter that some of the Queen's friends assembled at Aberdour House, the Earl of Morton's, and sent to her an offer of rescue, or whatever this letter may mean.

On the 3rd May, Bothwell took Mary to Edinburgh Castle, "all the outlets being guarded, and no one permitted to approach except in the presence of Bothwell." [a]

On the 7th May, sentence was pronounced, divorcing Bothwell from his wife, Jane Gordon.

12th May. The Queen declared before the Lords of Session that she forgave Bothwell for the violence which he had used towards her person, and on the 15th she was married to him, according to the Protestant rites, in one of the rooms of Holyrood Palace.

[a] *Letters of Mary Stuart*, &c. by Prince Alexander Labanoff, translated by Turnbull. 1845.

A strange succession of events, and more strange and significant if she received the letter in question and did not send any answer. It is general history that some such proposal to the Queen was made, but I cannot find any evidence of the exact nature of it, or how it was conveyed to her.

Hume says that some of the nobility sent her a private message, in which they told her that if in reality she lay under force they would use all their efforts to rescue her; and that her answer was, that she had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but ever since her arrival had been so well treated that she willingly remained with Bothwell. What evidence there is of any such private message or answer I cannot find.

My impression has been for several years that the document I produce was in the handwriting of Secretary Maitland. It has been closely tested, and I am told that it is not his writing, and that he could not have been at Aberdour on that day. Two at least of the most eminent authorities of the present period have seen the document, and their views are, I believe, directly opposed, but I venture to say that they have no doubt it is a record of the exact message to the Queen, whoever wrote it, or of a message pretended, by Maitland, to have been sent, which is the construction put upon it by her popular defender.

This document came to my hands some years since in the same cover with another which I now produce.

The latter is, I submit, an important confirmation of the authenticity of the former, as preserved by Secretary Maitland with his most private family papers.

The provision which, by this other document, he makes for his wife, Mary Fleming, one of the Queen's four Maries, is indisputably genuine. The signature, seal, and the whole legal formality, and recitals, may be tested in every possible way. On the fragile seal the word "secretarie" is still legible.

I may add that Lithington is near Haddington, and now called Lenoxlove, a seat of Lord Blantyre's. The lands of Baikbie (Bagby) were granted to William Maitland the younger, 15 December, 1564, with remainder to his brothers John and Thomas, as stated in Douglas's *Scottish Peerage.*

I have several other Maitland letters and papers, but not of importance as to the authenticity of the documents which I now produce, although connected with the history of the Queen or the Maitlands:—letters from "Marie Seton," at Rheims, where she became a nun, and Margaret, daughter of Kircaldy of Grange, abbess of Rheims; several from Jane Fleming, only daughter and heiress of James, fourth Lord Fleming, and wife of Sir John Maitland, to her husband's nephew, James, son of Secretary Maitland; also from Isabel, sister to the

Secretary, and wife of James Heriot, of Trabroun and Elvingston, addressed to her nephew, the same James Maitland, when in Flanders, &c.[a]

I cannot deduce proof of the descent of the two documents from Secretary Maitland, but that they were preserved by the Duke of Lauderdale with the Secretary's papers I have almost a certainty. I beg to add my opinion that the Duke of Lauderdale, who was born at Lithington, was a great gatherer of historical documents and the preserver of the papers of his family, which have got dispersed during the present century, and have at times come before the public. I suspect that he had the command of the secret history of Queen Mary more than any man. Much of what he knew he probably took care should never be known to the world, at least so far as his own family was concerned.

It may have some bearing on the degree of interest which may be taken in my communication that Secretary Maitland certainly became for a time Mary's enemy. He accused her of being a willing captive to Bothwell, and produced the supposed letters of Bothwell, although he at last became her champion and died in her cause.

I shall be gratified if my papers are considered to deserve attention with reference to a point in history of never-failing interest.

Believe me to be, sincerely yours,

RICHD. ALMACK.

Aug. W. Franks, Esq.,
Director, Soc. of Antiq.

The first document described by Mr. Almack is thus entitled and worded:—

The copie of y^e^ quenes ma^ies^ L^re^.

Pleis yo^r^ ma^tie^ It is bruted & spokin in the countrey that yo^r^ ma^tie^ suld be ravissit be the Erle bothwell against yo^r^ will. Quherin we yo^r^ maiesteis nobilitie & subiectis thinkes o^r^ selves maist heichlie offendit gif swa be. And therfore desyres to know yo^r^ hienes plesyr & will Quhat we sall do toward the reparatioun of that mat^r^ and in quhat man^r^ we sall use o^r^ selfes qlk being knowing ther sall na thing be left undone that becomes faythfull & loving subiectis to do to the [avansing [b]] & [fulfilling [b]] avancement & furthsetting of ther princes honor & effaris. We will lowk to be certefeit of yo^r^ graces mynd be the bearer hereof And swa efter o^r^ humble commendatiouns we commit yo^r^ ma^tie^ to god frome Aberdo^r^ the xxvii of Aprill 1567.

---

[a] See List of Mr. Almack's MSS. in Hist. MSS. Comm. 1st Rep. 1870, App. p. 55.—H. S. M

[b] The two words within brackets are crossed out.

This document appears, from the correction in the eighth and ninth lines, to have been originally the draft of the letter, afterwards retained as the copy and so entitled.

The place of the letter in history is shown in Archbishop Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland*. This book was first published in 1655, and was, no doubt, Hume's authority for his statement cited by Mr. Almack. It was again published by the Spottiswoode and Bannatyne Clubs in 1847-1851, after a collation with better manuscripts, which collation, however, did not affect the passage concerning this matter. The preface to the later edition testifies that the author certainly had access to good information and probably used it faithfully. Here are the words of the passage in question, taken from the later edition of the book, vol. ii. p. 51:—

"A few days after, feigning an expedition into Liddisdale, he [Bothwell] gathered some forces, and, meeting the Queen on the way as she returned from Stirling, whither she had gone to visit her son, he took her by way of rape and led her to the castle of Dunbar. No men doubted but this was done by her own liking and consent; yet a number of noblemen convening at Stirling, lest they should seem deficient in any sort of their duties, sent to ask whether or not she was there willingly detained; for, if she was kept against her will, they would come with an army and set her at liberty. She answered, 'That it was against her will that she was brought thither, but that since her coming she had been used so courteously as she would not remember any more that injury.'"

The document corrects and supplements this passage, placing the convention of noblemen at Aberdour (which lies about half way between Stirling and Dunbar), making most probable the presence, and perhaps chief influence among them, of the Earl of Morton (for Aberdour was his seat), and shows that their communication was not merely a verbal message but a letter, and gives the date of dispatch. It is cited in Froude's *History of England*, vol. ix. (Reign of Elizabeth, vol. iii.), ch. xiii. p. 65, which history shows that Secretary Maitland was not set at liberty on the morrow of his capture with the Queen, but detained a prisoner, and therefore could not have had any hand in the letter. The same history shows that certain noblemen, among whom was the Earl of Morton, having in view the same object as is expressed in the letter, did assemble at Stirling a few days later, a fact which accounts for the error in Spottiswoode as to the place whence the letter was sent.

The writing and language of the document appear to be of the date expressed therein, but there is no reason why it should ever have been possessed by a Maitland otherwise than as a collector.

---

William Maitland the younger, of Lithington, the "Secretary Maitland" of Scottish history, married, on the 6th of January, 1567 (he being then a widower and childless), Mary Fleming, daughter of Malcolm, third Lord Fleming.[a] They were usually known to their own time, he as "Lithington" or "Secretar," she as "Marie Fleming," with the description of his "spouse" or "relict," or of "Lady Lithington."

In the same year he obtained from the prioress and convent of Haddington Abbey a disposition of the greatest part of their lands[b] in the Haddington district, which was then a "constabularie" under the Sheriff of Edinburgh, not yet a county.

William Maitland and Mary Fleming had children, at least two, probably more.

In these circumstances the second document described by Mr. Almack was drawn up and executed thus :—

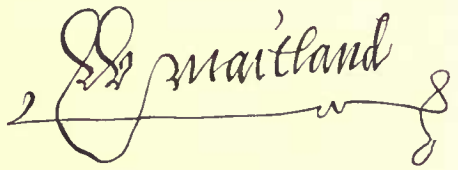
Be It Kend till all men be yir presentis Me William Maitland youngar of lethingtoun Secretar &c. Forsamekle as I haif infeft my sone James Maitland gottin betuix me and Marie fleming my spouse in fee of all and sindry my lands of ye steidds ye lands and mains of the abbay of hadingtoun and uthers quhilks ar ye maist part of my lands & heritages without ony infeftment of liferent nor yit of ye just teree reservit yairof to ye said Marie my spouse bot done be me in hir manifest defraude and preiudice of ye samyn And now movit of very conscience for ye trew affectioun and gud will I beir towards ye said Marie my spouse & for contentatioun of hir teree of ye lands foirsaids Me thairfoir to be bundin and obleist and be ye tenour heirof binds and oblissis me my airs and assignis To infeft ye said Marie my spouse be charter & saising in competent and dew forme in liferent for all ye dayis of hir lifetyme in all and sindry my lands of baikbie with ye houssis maneir places mansioun yairds yairof and ye pertinentis liand within ye shrefdome of edinburgh within ye constabularie of hadingtoun To be haldin be ye said Marie my spouse in liferent as said is of me my airs and assignis in fre blanche ferme for payment of ane penny gif it be askit alanerly And to ye prioress of ye abbay of hadingtoun and convent of ye samyn and yair successors superiors of ye saids lands of baikbie fermes dewties and uthers deuoris and seruices aucht and wont of ye saids lands with yair pertinentis conteint in ye charter

[a] Douglas and Wood's *Peerage of Scotland* (1813), vol. ii. "Lauderdale," p. 68.

[b] *Archæol. Scot.* vol. i. Edinb. 1792, p. 64.

of few ferme maid be ye said prioress & convent to me yairof And with warrandice as effers and speciale fra all uther infeftments priuie saisings coniunctfees liferents ladyis terces alienationis foirfaltoure purprestoure evictioun and uthers dainger or perell bigane or to cum And for sufficient infeftment to be haid of ye saids lands to ye said Marie my spous in liferent for all ye dayis of hir lifetyme as said is I bind and obliss me my airs and assignis to mak feu subscryve & deliuer ane charter of ye saids lands with yair pertinentis in dew and competent forme to be haldin in maner foirsaid with sufficient infeftment to follow yairupone Togidder with ye charter of confirmatioun of ye said prioress and convent of ye abbay of hadingtoun superiors of ye saids lands of baikbie or uthers superiors yairof quhatsumeuir with all and sindry uther evidents and ryts quhilks belangs to ye said Marie to haif for hir full securitie of ye saids lands And yat to be maid upone myne my airs and assignis foirsaids expensis all fraude gyle or exceptioun of law secludit and away put quhilk for me my airs and assignis I aluterly renunce And yis present obligatioun to be renewit be me my airs and assignis to ye said Marie sa ofte as scho pleissis and extendit in ye maist ample and securest form for hir securitie of ye saids lands of baikbie with ye pertinentis as scho sall pleis to devis In witnes heirof To yis present obligatioun subscryvit with my hand my seill is affixit At Ledingtoun the saxt day of Aprill the yeir of god lm vc thre scoir and ten yeirs Befoir yir witnes Maister thomas Maitland my brother germane Richard Knowis & Robert Kempt my servitors with uthers diverss.

(L.S.)[a]



The document is a bond and obligation of the husband to infeft his wife with a liferent in certain of his lands,—a voluntary post-nuptial settlement. Being in her favour without interposition of a trustee, it was doubtless delivered to her at once and retained by her to her death.

Her enjoyment of the liferent was soon rudely interrupted. The Earl of Lennox, elected Regent in July 1570, soon afterwards proclaimed Maitland a traitor, deprived him of the office of Secretary, and seized his lands. The Regent's Parliament held in the Canongate on the 14th of May, 1571, attainted him, and his lands were granted out, in spite of his previous dispositions thereof to his wife and children. In 1572 the Earl of Mar, then Regent, negotiated with him and the party with which he was connected, but no treaty was concluded. On the surrender of Edinburgh Castle by his party on the 29th of May, 1573, he fell into the hands of the Earl of Morton, then Regent, and died suddenly on the 9th of June following;—whether by poison or otherwise, whether by his own or another hand, are matters of historical controversy.

[a] The "seill" is too imperfect for representation in figure.

Mary Fleming, in a letter written on the 21st of June, 1573, from Edinburgh to Lord Burleigh,[a] requests "that the Queen's Majestie, your sovereign, may by your means be moved to write to my Lord Regent of Scotland, that the body of my husband, which, when alive, has not been spared in her hieness service, may now after his death receive no shame or ignominy, and that his heritage taken from him during his lifetime, *now belonging to me and his children*, that have not offended, *by a disposition made a long time ago*, may be restored."

The bond under consideration, and the infeftment to the infant, James Maitland, which is "narrated" therein, were doubtless parts of the "disposition" referred to in Mary Fleming's letter.

Her attempts to influence the government of Scotland in favour of herself and her children were for a long time fruitless. The "escheit of umquhile Williame Maitland, sumtyme of Lethingtoun, efter his foirfaltour," was dealt with by Parliament in 1578; the "disheresing of the posteritie" of Darnley's murderers, among whom he is reckoned by name, was ordained by Parliament in 1579. But in 1584 came from the same authority a "Pacificatioun to Marie Flemyng and hir bairnis," and a "Reuocatioun of the landis pertening to umquhile William Maitland, of Lethingtoun, youngar," and then an order of Privy Council, and an instrument under the Great Seal,[b] restoring citizenship and lands to the widow and children.

I have not met with the date of Mary Fleming's death. On that event the bond ceased to be a muniment of title, but deservedly obtained a place among documents illustrative of Maitland history.

---

The two documents represented and illustrated in the foregoing communication may be taken, apart from their historical interest, as authentic and fair specimens of the language, epistolary and legal, of the Scottish Lowlands in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

[a] Brit. Mus. Cott. MS. Calig. c. iv. 102, printed in Chalmers's *Life of Secretary Maitland*, which is annexed to his *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, 1818, vol. ii. 2nd ed. 1822, vol. iii.

[b] *Acts of Parl. of Scotland* (1814), iii. 111, 137, 313, 321; *Reg. of Privy Council of Scotland* (1880), iii. 632; Douglas and Wood's *Peerage of Scotland*, *ubi supra*.

XV.—*The "Remonstrance" of Anne of Cleves. Communicated by the* Rev. William Dunn Macray, M.A. F.S.A.

Read Jan. 29, 1880.

When, in words which were prompted by others, Queen Anne of Cleves had declared, upon receiving the report of Convocation against the validity of her marriage with Henry VIII. that she at once accepted and approved their sentence, although she also declared that her case was a very hard and sorrowful one from the great love which she bore to the king; and when, further, she had written (under similar dictation) to her brother to announce this her acquiescence, and to assure him that the divorce need not cause any cessation of friendship between him and the sovereign who now called her "sister" instead of "wife;" it was no wonder that the separation appeared to excite little attention or sympathy either at home or abroad. The happy temper of equanimity which enabled Anne to bear her lot so calmly, with such fortunate results of peace and comfort for herself to the end of her days, prevented the arousing of any such interest as might have been wakened had she made some passionate appeal to her countrymen and friends, or refused to lay down at the king's bidding the rank to which he had called her. Only once (as it was supposed) when, in a short year and a half after the divorce, her successor was in the Tower awaiting her own condemnation, was there any step taken to urge the claims of Anne; and we may well believe that the then abortive negociation of her brother's ambassador, who in December 1541 sought to enlist the sympathies of Cranmer and of the Earl of Southampton in her behalf, was one which had hardly been undertaken with her knowledge and approval at a time when the perils of royal wifehood were being so evidently demonstrated.

But in the Minutes of the Privy Council, under the date of 29 January, in the following year, 1542, there is an entry which seems to have been hitherto entirely overlooked, and which points to some public appeal then newly made on her behalf:—"Letters were receyvede from Mr. William Pagett, the King's Highnes embassadour in Fraunce, with the copie off a declamation made in Fraunce in the name of the Lady Anne of Cleves." No more is added, but it appears that this excited some alarm and uneasiness, and that the ambassador was at once directed to apply to the French King for the suppression of the obnoxious book. For, on 26 February, Paget writes to his royal master from Paris[a] that, in pursuance of the letter from the Council in respect to his proceedings with the French King touching the book whereof he had lately sent a copy, he had had an interview with Francis, wherein, in reply to an enquiry, "What news out of England?" he had said that he had none but what he had learned in France itself, having there heard tell of a book made in French, in the Lady Anne of Cleves' name, wherein the author very slanderously and unjustly seemed to touch the King's honour, and therefore he desired that some order might be taken for the stay and calling in of the same. "What booke is it? (quod the Kyng). Who made it? Is it printed?" "A very folishe booke, Sir (quod I) made by Monsr Dyvry, Conte Bryan's brother; I am in doubte whether it be printed or no." "Mary (quod the Kyng) I will set staye for the printyng of it incontinent, and also take ordre for the recoverey of so many copies as be out of them." "Sir, (quod I) thenne shal your Highnes doo according to thamitie betwene the Kinges Majestie my maister and you." "Jesus! (quod the Kyng) what ment he to make it? I thinke veryly the Duke of Cleves knoweth not of it." "If he did (quod I) *il a tort*, considering the goodnes the Kinges Majestie my maister hath shewed to him and his." "No, surely (quod he), he knoweth not of it, for it wer a folie of him, and specially now at this tyme; for men's affections do alter, and the Lady Anne is yet of age to bear childern; and albeit the winde hath bene contrarie, it may fortune to turne." "Sir (quod I) of thinges to cum touching that parte I knowe not, but of thinges that be passed therin I am assured my maister hath done nothing that hath bene dissonant eyther from God's lawe, man's lawe, reason or honestie; and I thinke your Highnes thinketh the same." "Who, I? (quod he) in faith I never thought otherwise, sythens I was furst enformed of the matier, and so I thinke still, and spake it not for no such purpose, for I knowe my good brother is a Prince of great wisedome and

[a] *State Papers*, Hen. VIII. part v. p. 660.

experience, and knoweth what he hath to do well ynough in these thinges, and no man lyving wissheth him better thenne I, and fayne woold I that our amitie, albeit it be great, were yett greater."

The book, of which Paget thus seems to have forwarded to England only a manuscript copy, as one out of many which he believed were in circulation, was, however, actually printed; but whether before or after his application for its suppression does not appear. And printed not only once, but twice; and not surreptitiously and in secret, but with the names of the printers, although without a date. And from France it passed into Italy, and there, after Henry's death, in 1558, appeared at Bologna clothed in an Italian version by one "Cap. Gio. Battista dei Grillandari," a Florentine, who dedicated his translation to Lucretia of Este. But, strange to say, no mention has ever been made by any English writer who has treated of the history of the time, of this attempt to enlist the sympathy of Europe in Anne's favour, and the passages in the records of the Privy Council and in the State Papers have either altogether escaped notice, or have been passed over as referring to some ephemeral and lost production, respecting which inquiry would be vain. But whatever was the "order" taken by Francis I. for its suppression, the book still exists, and well deserves notice. In its very title, however, there is a strange error, which may partly account for the general ignorance of it. The Title runs as follows: *Loraison et Remonstrance de haulte et puissante Dame ma dame Marie de Cleves, sœur de treshault et puissant Seigneur, le Duc de Juilliers, de Cleves, et de Gueldres: Faicte au Roy d'Angleterre et à ceulx de son Conseil. Joannes a Luxemburgo III. faciebat.* That Anne is here called by the name of her mother, Mary, may possibly be one of the causes why inquirers into the history of Anne have missed meeting with the book. The error shows evidently that the author was not inspired by the supposed appellant, and must of itself, if found in the copy sent to England, have cleared her from all suspicion of complicity, which would otherwise have certainly led to unpleasant "interpellations." And the contrast between the tone of her supposed plea and the real feelings which she personally exhibited is one of complete and welcome inconsistency. Her advocate represents her as dissolved in tears, overwhelmed with sorrow, contemplating even the possibility of suicide, resisting to the utmost the wrong, the dishonour, the causeless injustice, done to her. But the real fact was, as an eye-witness, none other than the French ambassador, Marillac, informs us, that "the Lady of Cleves, so far from being troubled at what has befallen her, appears as happy as ever she was in her

life. * * * The Lady of Cleves shows herself perfectly happy. Her brother's ambassador tells me she is in the best spirits in the world."[a]

But what is known of "Joannes a Luxemburgo III.?" Who was this author? The very name and description are at first sight somewhat of a puzzle.

"John of Luxembourg" was the third son of Charles of Luxembourg, Count of Brienne, Ligny, and Roussy. In 1525, at the age of ten years, he was elected Abbot of Ivry, in the diocese of Evreux (whence it is that he is called "Mons. Dyvry" by Paget), because, the monastery being poor and ruinous, the monks were desirous to secure as their head a member of such a wealthy and powerful house as that of Brienne; and Pope Clement VII. confirmed the election, on condition that a third part of the revenues of the monastery should be employed upon repairs, upon the purchase of sacred ornaments, and upon the support of the poor, and that the Prior should have the management of the house until the boy-Abbot should reach the mature age of eighteen. At the time of the publication of our book he had become Bishop of Pamiers, and it is to this that the numeral "III." on his title-page makes reference; amongst the possessors of that see he was "John the Third." He had been appointed administrator of the diocese in 1540, when only twenty-five years of age; but it would seem by his style that he must have been consecrated previously to the printing of the book, in which case, if it were printed before 1545, his minority in age must again have been dispensed with. He died in 1548 at Avignon, and was there buried. His appeal on behalf of the divorced queen may possibly have been first written in 1540, when the separation was under discussion, but not put to the press at any rate until the close of 1541, when her brother was entertaining the hope of her possible restoration, but probably some years later. It was printed, as its colophon tells, "a la Rivou par Maistre Nicole Paris, maistre ès arts, tres humble et obeissant Serviteur & Imprimeur de hault et puissant Seigneur, Messire Jean de Luxembourg."[b] For the young and lordly Bishop of Pamiers was a man of learning and literature, as well as of taste and eloquence; and, in his zeal for the advancement of the studies which he loved, he brought from Troyes and employed within cloistered walls

[a] Notes to Froude's edition of Thomas' *Pilgrim*, 8vo. Lond. 1861, pp. 154, 155.

[b] Brunet (*Manuel du Libraire*), who speaks of the book as being very rare, supposes that it was printed about 1545, because a Troyes book bears the name of Nicolas Paris as its printer in that city in 1544. But the monastery of "la Rivou" and the city were near enough to have admitted of his superintending presses at the two places simultaneously.

Master Nicolas Paris, a scholar of academic degree, as his own private printer. To his abbacy of Ivry Bishop John III. added that of the Cistercian house of La Rivour, or l'Arrivour, situated in the village of Lusigny, some nine or ten miles from Troyes; and hence it is that the imprint of his book bears the name of a place almost unknown in typographical geography, "La Rivou." [a] In 1547, the year before his patron's death, Master Nicolas printed here an edition of Bude's treatise, *Institution du Prince*, with notes and other matter added by the Abbot, in which the book is described as "imprimé à l'Arrivour, abbaye du dict Seigneur." The original edition of the book with which we are now concerned is a small quarto of fifty-three pages; and it was reprinted at Paris itself, with the same title, renewing the same mistake in the name of "Marie," by one Arnoul l'Angelier, in a small 16mo volume, also without date.

What the motive can have been which induced a Roman Catholic Bishop thus to enter the lists as the sole champion of a Lutheran princess, at whose downfall all those of his own faith in England had rejoiced, can only be conjectured. There is no apparent evidence of any family friendship or alliance between the houses of the Counts of Brienne and the Dukes of Cleves; and the fact of the mistake as to Anne's Christian name seems to show that the writer had no personal acquaintance with the lady whose cause he advocated. Is it not possible that the tract was really written with the subtle idea of provoking a quarrel between the English "Defender of the Faith," and the prince who was one of the leaders of the German heretics, of irritating the former, as it indeed succeeded in doing, and of rousing in the breasts of the Lutherans a strong sense of the wrong that had been done, not merely to an individual but to them and to their cause as well, in the expulsion from the English throne of one who would have favoured their movements, and in the substitution of a devoted adherent of the older form of faith? If written, as its whole construction and argument imply, when the proposed separation was yet under discussion, and if written then with the hope of so exasperating Henry at the appearance of foreign interference as to preclude the chance of a reconciliation, it may have been laid aside when the

[a] The name is found indeed in the second volume, or supplement, of Dr. Cotton's *Typographical Gazetteer*, but the learned archdeacon was ignorant of the real locality. In two, at least, of the great English monasteries, St. Alban's and Tavistock, the art of printing was early practised; but such instances were rare, and to find it established in so obscure a house as was La Rivour is no small proof of the Abbot's love for learning and the arts. It is duly entered in P[ierre] D[eschamps'] *Dictionnaire de Géographie à l'usage du libraire; supplement au Manuel du Libraire*, 1870, under its Latin form of "*Ripatorium*," but the title of our book is incorrectly given as *Oraison funebre de Marie de Clèves.*

rapid progress of events plainly made its publication unnecessary, and may have been at last brought to light only when the embassy of the Duke of Cleves in December 1541, renewed the fears of his sister's possible restoration, and made this display of zealous championship from an unexpected quarter come in at a very opportune season for thwarting what it professed to advocate. Such a conjecture appears sufficiently to account for the phenomena of the authorship of the tract, of its open publication not merely in a province but in Paris itself, despite the French King's professed intention to prohibit and suppress it, and for the fact that those who noticed it did not regard it as in any way proceeding from, or being authorised by, the Lady Anne herself. If this conjecture as to the date of publication be erroneous, it may then be that, while written with the same supposed motive and intended for publication at that time, the interference of the English ambassador and the consequent action of Francis I. may have hindered its publication until both the English and French kings had been removed by death in 1547, and that its appearance then was due simply to its literary merit, or to its author's idea of its merit, and not to any deep theologico-political design.

But it is time to proceed to give some account, in an abridged abstract, of the contents of the tract. It is written under the form of a personal appeal from Anne herself, and this character is sustained throughout with all appearance of naturalness, with great spirit and with occasional touches of real eloquence. The tone is tender and feminine; the learning which it occasionally parades such as might have been affected in compliment to Henry himself, although, certainly, there is no evidence that in this respect any more than in others Anne was suited to his taste; the flattery as gross as was customary, although beneath it all there are sharp insinuations and reproaches which must have nettled the touchy monarch not a little.

The appeal, directly addressed to the King, begins by the Queen's declaring to him that 'if tears and grief could remedy her misfortunes, she would not fail to employ them for the recovery of the goodwill which he ought to bear to her, seeing that she is a helpless stranger, who has left her native land, and the parents who so delicately nourished her, and the servants who loved and honoured her and who still regret her departure. But since she knows that great kings have always those beside them who represent their every wish as lawful, she has no hope except in his own goodness and equity; his own knowledge and sound judgment are her best defence, and if these fail, the eloquence of the greatest orator in the world would only render her very blameable in pretending to speak against what he might please to do. If those who trust in virtue can never be

deceived of their hope, she then, in betaking herself to his virtues, which are so numerous, cannot possibly despair of safety; but, nevertheless, as all her love is for him alone (not for his riches or possessions), she only desires that his pleasure may be done. As for the questions whether, having espoused her first by ambassadors whom he had commissioned, and then, after contracts duly ratified, having espoused her himself with the solemnities of the Church, he can now repudiate and leave her, she will not make her rights an occasion of quarrel with one whom she only desires to honour and serve. If love makes her too passionate in the course of her speech, he must only blame himself who has made so lively an impression upon her. If she were to tell all the reasons for the affection which she bears to him, whom she chose in preference to many great princes and lords who courted her, then all the great ladies in Europe would be glad at her trouble, in the hope of arriving themselves at that happiness which she thought would have been her for life, and for which, if regained, they will envy her.

'The honour with which she was at first received, the rich apparel with which he desired her to be arrayed, the letters written by his own hand which his ambassadors delivered, all these she recals to his remembrance. But she would rather never have lived than that on her account it should hereafter be said that his faith (so holy and inviolable), his constancy (honoured by all the kings in Europe) and his good judgment (which can direct others so well and worthily) had all been contaminated and defiled by the bad treatment, the wrong and the injury, exhibited by him to her.' She then turns to the Lords of the Council, and appeals to them to speak the truth to their Prince without fear or favour of either side, or regard to any inconvenient results; and undertakes to prove to them very easily that alike by the old Law, by their Christian profession, and even by the rights recognised amongst Pagans, the King cannot justly leave her. Hereupon she goes back to the first institution of marriage at the Creation and to its divine sanctions. 'Its validity depends upon the mutual consent of the parties, stamped with the approval of the Church; and this consent the King cannot deny that he gave. Is she now, in return for her plighted troth, to be robbed of honour and covered with shame? Will it be any credit to him that people should say that after he had sent for the sister of the Duke of Juliers as his wife, he now makes it a matter of discussion whether he can leave her and send her back again? Who in the whole world will be found so shameless and devoid of sense, who so deficient in reason and the knowledge of justice, as to maintain that by divine, or human, or natural law, the King can do it lawfully? True, among those ancients who had no knowledge of God, repudiation was allowed;

but that law has no force now. He has no just occasion of complaint against her, unless it be that she is entirely devoted to him and bears him the greatest goodwill, and therefore will not permit a separation. If this be an inexpiable offence, then let her life pay for it.

'But some one may say, "Wives are given to men to obey them and to do what they choose to order,; if then the King chooses to leave you and take another, ought you to go contrary to his will?" There is some force in this; but then unjust orders have no validity, and they who obey another's vices themselves commit an offence, being the rather bound to remonstrate. If the King were to order her not to love him, obedience would be simply impossible.' Hereupon, the writer breaks out into an apostrophe to Love, in which Love is implored to answer on her behalf to whatever may be said against her. 'If it be said that she is not so personally attractive in the King's eyes as he desired to find her, let it be replied that she did not seek the King but he sought her; it was at his earnest solicitation that she obeyed the commands of her relatives. And if she does not possess so much of that external beauty which consists in a certain proportion and harmony of the body as many other women (while yet there are very many who in that respect have not so much reason to be contented as she has), let it be represented that such changeable beauty of the body is the least of the perfections which one can have; that the true, divine, and permanent beauty is that of the soul; and that it should be enough if a wife bring to her husband's house well-regulated temperance in all things, and a sure and perpetual chastity, together with the goodwill and affection which she ought to bear him.'

Now follows a sharp sketch of the opinions expressed abroad about Henry, which with its pungent plainness of speech, none the less plain for being exhibited under the form of profuse flattery, must have touched him to the quick.

'She must own that many of her relations and friends had tried to prove her constancy before her marriage by speaking evil of him, and so to divert her from her purpose. But she took their interference in ill part. When, for instance, some asked her if she thought she could endure the tempers of, and live comfortably with, a King who was suspected of having already treated three wives very badly, she answered them as best she could, according to what she understood the actual truth to be; saying, that one of them had been abandoned with very great regret, as everybody knew, only to satisfy his conscience because he preferred the depriving himself of his greatest delights to the offending God; that the second had been punished for her gross misconduct, as justice, reason, and equity allowed, and that as for the third, the saying that she had been ill treated by him was

indeed an ill saying, for never had wife had greater reason to felicitate herself with her husband, and that her death had happened only after giving birth (to the great joy of the whole English nation) to a very fine son who, it was thought, would succeed not only to his father's inheritance but to his great virtues. Then another had asked her (in order to put her in a passion, or try her patience) how she would bear the King's humours, which, as the questioner said, were too difficult for her or anybody else to understand, and what remedy she would employ if he were to love some other lady, or how she would bear it if he were to prove jealous. But she quickly satisfied the querist with the assurance, that she would be so entirely obedient to the King's humour as that everything which he wished should please her, and that her only happiness in the world would be to esteem everything that he liked; that to gain his love she would become like the fabled Proteus, and change herself into all forms, so that by becoming entirely conformed to his desires it could not fail but that she should be far more agreeable to him than any of those whose company he might (with scandal and sin) desire to use. She knows indeed that men are given to women to be their lords and masters, and that a greater license in pleasure is allowed to them, and that human laws do not enjoin upon them like continence and equal chastity with women. Men have the management of great and difficult affairs, they have to provide for all the political necessities of nations and for the welfare of subjects; but women have but to observe the one law of honour, and to make their husbands' wish their good. They ought never to give any one the opportunity of speaking ill of them; lest it should happen to them as it did to Hermione, the wife of the King of Thebes,[a] of whom Euripides speaks in his tragedies, where she laments that she had ever been so foolish as to believe those who detracted from the praises of her husband, her jealousy and easy credulity involving her in no little calamity. But, seeing that it was very difficult to satisfy those who persisted in their endeavours to test her, she told them, in order to give them the fullest assurance of her own intentions, that she would be like the prudent Emilia, the wife of Scipio Africanus, who during his life never evinced any jealousy or caused any scandal about a slave whom he loved, and after his death honourably treated and provided for her, because she thought it would give pleasure to his spirit in the other world; and who was wont to say that when men exhibited affection for others than their own wives, it was but from some fleeting feeling which vanished like smoke, and that, for all that, love would not at

[a] The writer here appears to confound Hermione, or Harmonia, wife of Cadmus, with her later namesake.

all diminish, because it can only extend to things good and praiseworthy, and is an enemy of all vice and iniquity.

'And when she was asked how she would bear it, supposing, on the other hand, he were jealous of her, she replied that she would always show him such signs of affection, would be always so near him and make so little count of all the world beside, that she would reckon the time, the day, the hour, lost, in which he did not command her willing service; so that she assured herself there would be no need for them in England of the temple dedicated at Rome to the Goddess Viriplaca, whither husbands and wives resorted when they had fallen out in order to tell their several stories, and then to be reconciled; for she would so fashion her manners and life to suit his nature that he would hardly know that she was not his very self.

'Thus no arguments of others prevailed with her, and those who had been careful to dispute with her on the matter greatly applauded her reasoning; for the affection which she bore him made her speak more ably than any skill or teaching could have enabled her to do. And they said that all that they had done had only been with the view of guarding against future inconveniences, and that in thus doing they acted the part of good kindred and true friends and wise advisers. But she, poor woman that she is, could never have supposed for an instant that she could have fallen into the sad condition in which she is now, a result so unexpected and so contrary to the anticipations she had indulged. For since the first entering upon the treaty of marriage, as well as since the time when he first received her kindly at his court, she is not conscious of having committed any offence for which he could justly say that she deserves that this question should be brought forward, as it is now, without any other reason except that he has the power to leave her and take a new wife. No one could have foreseen such a misfortune, for those things which proceed from mere arbitrary whim and not from reason must be referred to what we call chance; and no advice or forethought can provide against them. It will be much harder for her now to give him up, after having had the privilege of knowing him in some small degree, than if that privilege had never been hers. For she has seen that in him there are such perfections that were she to reckon them up, she would think that she knew every good thing and every virtue that there is in the world; and did she but know them perfectly she would need no other medicine to remedy all her ills and to minister entire comfort. And let him not think that in thus saying she exposes herself to blame for flattery. For the love which she bears him cannot but be good and true, whether it come from the heavenly in-

fluences of the planets under which they were born, or from the temperament in which she most nearly approaches him, [!] or from familiarity with him, which has nevertheless been too short for forming a perfect judgment of his endowments. If it be from heaven, then the Author of all things preserves its vitality, and disposes her to love him; if it be from the close affinity of their temperaments, then it is impossible that he, who is the thing she most desires in the world, should hate her; if from the knowledge which she has of his virtues and praiseworthy qualities, these are so great that they cannot permit anyone to do her injury. But should she be deceived in her hope and lose her rightful cause (in which, however, she can never fail if truth and justice remain in the world, or change not in their name and in their effect altogether) she will not be the first woman who has been deceived by men. For it is common with women to receive ill in return for good. And so she will have at any rate that consolation of the unfortunate which consists in thinking how many have suffered like herself, whose examples will teach her to follow them in fortitude and constancy. She will lay to heart the example of those women of India who, when their husband is dead, come weeping before the judges and princes of their country, declaring what cause they have for grief; and she who can prove that she was the most loved, and is pronounced so to have been, then humbly thanks the judges, and goes joyfully, clad in her best array, to share her husband's funeral pile; while the other wives spend all the rest of their days in tears, and judge themselves unfit to be seen But alas! her case is altogether different! She, loving him too well but not being at all esteemed by him, can only have her place amongst the unhappy ones who have lost all the fruit of their regard. But in proving the truth of woman's love, the only difficulty lies in choosing instances out of the multitude that occur; one can find abundance of women ("although you men pretend that we are faint-hearted and fearful") who have been willing to die for their husbands. For instance, Alcestis the wife of Admetus, King of Thessaly, suffered death in his place. To this purpose also there is an ancient story of one of Henry's own predecessors, a King of England named Robert, who in a battle with the Syrians had received a great wound from a poisoned sword. After his return to his own country it was judged by well-informed and experienced surgeons that the wound was incurable, unless perchance the poison could be sucked out by some one to whom in that case it would speedily prove fatal instead; and when the king conscientiously refused to allow anyone to be put in such danger he was succoured in his necessity by his own wife, who secretly in the night, having removed the bandages from the wound without his

being aware of it, did that which the doctors had ordered; and, having sucked out the poison, she was found herself the next day choked and dead.[a]

'This story has given her great comfort, for she believes that when he knows that her good-will is not less than that of which she has thus made recital, he will feel some inclination to treat her well, and not cut her off from his society. But if it should be otherwise, to what an extremity will she be reduced; for what can she then do? The law forbids her doing violence to herself, to send her soul back to heaven whence it came; yet she cannot live in the world without dying daily in deaths far more cruel than words can describe. The death of the body, in proportion to its violence, is the sooner over; but, when the soul is agitated with passion and torment, it, because it is immortal, is the more grievously afflicted. Could it but perish like the body, the vehemence of her affection would, she verily believes, many times already have delivered her out of all her sufferings. Or, if the Athenian custom still prevailed of allowing persons to take poison who could show that there was no just cause for their continuing to live, she assures him and his Council that she would so order her speech that he and every one who heard her would say that no person had ever more reason to wish to die than she has. For what of pleasantness remains for her in the world if that which formed the stay of her life is parted from her for ever? What hope can she ever have of comfort, if of that happy offspring which she thought to have had of him, and which she trusted to see stretch, like a beautiful tree, its branches even to heaven, the very roots are torn up from the earth by violence? if a sudden tempest, a sudden change of will, lay waste the fruits which were

[a] This version of the apocryphal story of Prince Edward and Eleanor is interesting, as removing it still further into the region of mythical tradition. I have not been able to trace the source from which the writer derived the name of Robert; the story does not appear among the legends told of Robert *le Diable* of Normandy, neither was he the sort of personage likely to have inspired such tender affection. It seems probable, however, that, in some form or other, the narration (based upon some real occurrence) may have obtained currency through the medium of romance, and have been told of different heroines. As connected with Edward it first appears (as is well known) in the History of Spain by Rodericus Santius, Bishop of Palencia in the latter half of the fifteenth century, who relates it ("ut vera perhibent annalia") in the fourth chapter of his first book, where he is speaking of the virtues of Spanish women. It was from this source that Camden first introduced it into English history. Sanuto, the Venetian historian of the Crusades, who returned from a fifth visit to the Holy Land in 1306, only thirty-five years after Edward's attempted assassination, merely remarks about it that he was cured "with difficulty;" and the French chronicle ascribed to Baudoin d'Avesnes, who died in 1289, says that he was cured by the help of God and by a certain stone, efficacious against poison, which was given him by the Hospitallers (*Rec. des Hist. de France*, xxi. 178).

already ripe and ready for gathering?[a] What can she do if that beautiful vessel filled with choice flowers and carefully guarded all through the winter until the spring be broken up and scattered? Would to God she had never known him, and that his virtues had consequently not become so dear to her, or that the day of her birth had been the day of her death. If grief ought to be proportioned to the loss which causes it, then her grief should be infinite, for infinite in value is her loss. The more Reason tells her that what cannot be cured must be endured, the more her pent-up grief gains force from the knowledge that her wound cannot be healed, and becomes hydra-headed in its many forms and occasions. It is no pleasure to her thus to indulge in complaints and tears; would that she could diminish them. Undeserved grief is indeed incurable, and especially when its cause is contrary to the claims of nature, to reason, and to equity. And it may easily be believed that she has not committed the whole goodness of her cause to her words, which are all too weak and too badly arranged to have sufficient power of persuasion in opposition to the violence with which she is threatened. Even if she had the power, she would not wish in anywise to use it in relation to a thing forbidden by all the laws of that equity which ought most chiefly to reign amongst princes, who, more than others, are bound to maintain it.

'To conclude as she began (that she may not weary him with further speech), she will place the whole strength of her Remonstrance in his mercy and pity, which she holds in so great reverence and esteem that she believes they will serve her far more than all the laws and rights which she could allege. For the longest argument which she could employ will be of no avail, except to bring to his recollection that which he already knows and perfectly understands. He is his own best adviser. As he is always reckoned the first in royal dignity, so may he cause himself to be reckoned by the wise and virtuous the first in knowledge and prudence and good judgment. And the more wisely he manages this affair, which is of such consequence to him, the more will he make it evident to every one, and especially to foreigners, that reason has exercised more authority with him than the false persuasion of those who wish to diminish his goodwill towards her; and he would thus manifest the exact contrary of that which many suspect, viz. that no new affection (by which wise men ought never to be carried away,

[a] There would seem to be reference here to a condition which may have given rise to the subsequent report of the Queen's having been delivered of a son after the divorce, by which report the King was greatly troubled. See *State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 697, 706. Can it have been the case that there was really a miscarriage?

if it be not good and reasonable) has had power to divert him from the way of truth. If he suffer anyone to do her wrong or injustice, she assures him that the blame will be imputed to himself alone, in whose power her life, her death, and all her hope are placed; and even if these were not in his power she has such confidence in him that she would put them all in his hands, to do with them as might seem to him good. And she, on her part, would render to him all such obedience as it might please him to enjoin. Let him then take pity of her scalding tears and show compassion for her sorrow. Let him give place to her great and perfect love, and grant that by his kindness she may live content. Let him retain this his most humble servant, this his creature, who was only born for him; and let him not use such cruelty as that she, without having done him any ill or offence, should be repudiated and divorced, and so rendered the most miserable and unfortunate wife in the whole world.'

"And you, my Lords the Judges," exclaims the supposed authoress, turning herself in conclusion to the Lords of the Council who were to decide her fate, "take you care so to advise your Sovereign Lord the King as that the increase of his reputation, the preservation of his honour, and the augmentation of his esteem, as well as the duty of your own consciences, may be alike held in safety. For, as far as in me rests, I remit all my defence only to his own purpose and good-will."

---

So ends the professed Remonstrance of the Lady Anne of Cleves. If it be not really an historical document, it is at any rate a curiosity of literature, and may probably be taken as representing the general feeling with which the divorce was regarded abroad. Although styled "a very folish booke" by the ambassador, who was diplomatically wise enough to make light of it to the French King even when requesting its suppression, there are sufficient sharp sayings and sound arguments to have made Henry feel very uncomfortable at being thus opposed before the face of the world, especially when the disputant was beyond his reach. As to its real object, one can only repeat at the close of this abstract the theory before suggested. The marriage was a device of Cromwell's for strengthening the interest of the Reforming party; to overthrow Cromwell and undo his work was the desire of the favourers of the old religion. Hardly, then, would a foreign bishop enter into a question with which it does not appear that he had any personal concern, and assume, on abstract grounds of equity, the character of spokesman for her whose cause he espoused, if he would thereby run counter to the

projects and wishes of his own friends. But, reckoning on the passionate and impulsive character of Henry, on his impatience of all interference and specially of all foreign dictation, and on the stubbornness of his will, the author may well have judged that the subtle device of apparent interference from abroad and the exposure of Henry's unfaithfulness to the world would raise such a storm of anger and resentment in the breast of the King as would be fatal to all chance of a reconciliation, and would help to complete the discomfiture of Cromwell. It is not a pleasant thought, nor one readily entertained, to imagine that the passionate and earnest appeals made in the name of the injured Queen could be written in a spirit really adverse to her supposed interests; nevertheless, such a thought appears to suggest the simplest solution of what is, in any point of view, somewhat of a puzzle. It would be strange if the book were merely written as a rhetorical exercise. But it is very satisfactory to know that she who was the object of this advocacy, whether real or pretended, was, after all, happier in its failure than she ever would have been in its success; that she, whom the French ambassador declared to be esteemed and loved by the English people "as the most gentle and gracious princess they had ever known," so far from being made miserable by the treatment she met with from her consort, amused herself thereafter "in all possible ways" (ways which would commend themselves to her French critic), "with dresses and entertainments," and showed herself "perfectly happy."

---

[Since this paper was read to the Society the writer has been favoured by Robert S. Turner, Esq. of the Albany, with the description of a manuscript volume in his valuable library which contains this *Remonstrance*, together with other treatises by John of Luxemburg. The volume is a small quarto, on fine vellum, of eighty-eight leaves, beautifully written, with illuminated initials, and contains:—

1. "Remonstrance faite par la seur du duc de iulliers au Roy dangleterre et a son conseil." The name of "Jehan de Luxembourg" is subscribed at the end.

2. Address, "A la royne de Naverre," fol. 43. Signed as before.

3. "Remonstrance faicte par les confederez de lempereur aux estatz tenus a Valdolic sur la reddition de Mylan," fol. 59.

4. "Responce aux remonstrances faictes a lempereur par aucun de ses confederez et subjectz sur la restoration du duche de Mylan," fol. 66. Signed as before.

On the first page of the volume are the arms of the family of Croy, dated 1618, with the insignia of the order of the Golden Fleece, and the mottoes, "Je sous tiendray Croy, J'ayme qui m'ayme." The book-plate of "Mademoiselle Térèse d'Yves" is inserted, and the book bears the number "382" as the reference to (probably) some sale catalogue in which it appeared.

The *State Papers* of the year 1556 contain references to a somewhat curious passage in the subsequent life of Anne, of which however no definite particulars are given. Her brother William, Duke of Cleves, complains to Queen Mary, in a letter dated 5 Aug., that his sister entertains in her family two persons, Jasper Broickhusen with his wife, together with a third, one Bastard of Wylich, who by their pernicious doctrines and marvellous impostures appear to have driven her mad; all means have been used to procure their removal, but in vain; he therefore begs the exercise of the Queen's authority for their expulsion from England. On 10 Sept. following the Council write to King Philip, "Touching the request of the noble prince, the Duke of Cleves, for the putting of one called Broekhusen, with his wief, and one other, from the service of the Lady Anne of Cleves, and from this realme, the Queenes Majestie willing us to have speciall care of this mater, we have alredy endeavred to informe ourselfs of such particuler causes and maters as wherby with your and the Queenes Majesties honour, and as litle offense to the said Lady Anne as may be, this thinge may take the same ende that the said Duke requirethe, whereof we trust within fewe dayes to make suche final ende as shall be to your Majesties good satisfaction." (*Domestic State Papers*, Mary ix. No. 28. See also C. P. Cooper's Appendices to *Report on Fœdera*, Appendix E, p. 356.) Nothing further appears on record with reference to the matter, nor has the name of this Brockhusen been met with elsewhere.]

XVI.—*On certain Inaccuracies in the ordinary Accounts of the early years of the Reign of King Edward IV. Communicated by* Charles Spencer Perceval, *Esq. LL.D. Treasurer.*

Read February 17, 1881.

Having lately had occasion to examine with some particularity the sequence of domestic events during the first four years of King Edward the Fourth, especially in connection with the movements, during part of that time, of the deposed King Henry and his consort, Margaret of Anjou, it has surprised me to find how confusedly the period in question has been treated.[a]

I found it difficult, at first, to believe that by several of the chroniclers, historians, and peerage-writers, an event of primary importance, the battle of Hexham, which for practical purposes gave the *coup de grâce* to the Lancastrian dynasty, has been antedated by a whole year.

This glaring chronological error, and certain mistakes or misapprehensions dependent on it, have never, so far as I can ascertain, been completely pointed out and corrected by any modern historian, however correct his own chronology may have been.

Yet, considering that the chronicles of Halle, Grafton, and Holinshed, the principal authors of the confusion which I notice, are still frequently referred to, and that their errors have been followed in more than one popular English

[a] The expressions used by Sir Henry Ellis (*Original Letters*, 2nd S. i. 94) writing 57 years ago are nearly as applicable now as then. "This eventful period," says he, "though removed from us scarcely more than three centuries, is still among the darkest on our annals. Its records are confused, mutilated, and disjointed. They who wrote history in it had no talents for the task; and there was a ferocity abroad among the partizans of both the rival houses, which prevented many from even assembling the materials of history."

It is from Mr. Halliwell Phillipps's introduction to *Warkworth's Chronicle*, edited by him for the Camden Society in 1839, that I borrow this quotation. This was, perhaps, the most valuable contribution to the knowledge of the period which had appeared since Ellis wrote, and was calculated to raise great hopes, since well justified, of the utility of the labours to be performed by the Society then in its infancy.

history, it certainly seems worth while to point out and correct their mistakes; and it is this task which I have endeavoured to accomplish in the present paper.

Here I may observe that, of all the English historians whose works I have consulted, Sharon Turner appears (in respect of the period in question) to be by far the most accurate. Lingard, usually so careful, has made a curious slip in his dates which, though very easily corrected, cannot fail to mislead a student seeking in his pages for exact information. The only book to which I have turned, and which I find unimpeachably correct, though the matter is necessarily much condensed, is Mr. James Gairdner's little work, entitled *The Houses of Lancaster and York*, London, 1875.

In order to render my purposed criticism more readily intelligible, I have thought it necessary to compile, from what appear to be the best, and as far as possible contemporary, sources, the following summary of the events of the years 1461 to 1465.[a] This I have endeavoured to do as succinctly as possible, stating the mere leading facts wherever I have found no dispute or discrepancy to exist, but expanding the narrative where contradictions occur, and examining into their origin. The wish to increase the interest of a dry historical *resumé* must be my excuse for certain slight digressions, not strictly necessary to my immediate purpose, but introducing a little new matter (chiefly from two very recent publications of the Camden Society), which has not yet found its way into our general histories.

Proclamation of K. Edw. IV. March 4, 1461.

On March 4, 1461, Edward Earl of March was proclaimed king by the style of King Edward IV. His regnal year therefore begins, be it remembered, on March 4 in every subsequent year.

Battles of Ferrybridge and Towton, March, 1461.

On the 27th and 28th of the same month were fought the battles of Ferrybridge and Towton, villages a few miles south of York. In the latter of these

[a] Subjoined are the titles and editions of the works to which I shall chiefly refer, with the abbreviations used in citing them.

William Wyrcestre or Worcester, cited as "Wyrc," from Hearne's edition at the end of the second volume of *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, 2nd ed. London, 1771. Warkworth's *Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of King Edward IV.*, ed. Halliwell (Camden Society) 1839. William Gregory's *Chronicle of London*, ed. Gairdner (Camden Society), 1877, cited as "Gregory." *A Brief Latin Chronicle*, ed. Gairdner, in *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, (Camden Society) 1880; and *Brief Notes*, an historical compilation in the same volume. The last three chronicles give several new facts and are otherwise very valuable. Fabyan's *Chronicle*, ed. 1533, cited as "Fabyan." *A Fragment of a Chronicle relating to King Edward IV.* printed by Hearne at the end of Sprott's *Chronicle*, 1719, cited as "Hearne's Fragment." Halle's *Union of York and Lancaster*, 1548. Grafton's *Chronicle*, 1568.

engagements King Henry VI.'s troops were entirely worsted, and he, with his consort and Prince Edward, their son, fled into Scotland, where they were hospitably received by the Court.

It is not clear what strong places north of York there were at this time armed and manned by Henry's partisans. The important border fortress of Berwick-on-Tweed, we know, held out for him, for, as the price of assistance from the Scots, he surrendered this place to them.[a]

Berwick surrendered to the Scots, April, 1461.

He himself seems to have collected about the same time a force of some sort, Scots perhaps and Borderers, and to have got as far south again as Ryton and Brancepath, in Durham,[b] and indeed to have penetrated into Yorkshire, for, if we can trust Thomas Playter writing to John Paston on April 18, 1461, Henry was then besieged at a place in that county which he calls "Coroumbr, such a name it hath or muche lyke," the Queen and Prince Edward being reported to be with him.[c]

The Scots, in consideration it appears of the surrender of Berwick, made an expedition against Carlisle, but, in June, 1461, the siege was raised by John Lord Montagu, brother to the "King-maker," the Scots losing on this occasion, according to contemporary rumour, 6000 men.[d]

Henry in his abortive expedition appears to have incurred great risk of capture, but to have got away, probably back to Scotland, to which country Margaret certainly retired.

Q. Margaret's first voyage, April, 1462.

She appears to have remained there until April, 1462. In that month she sailed from Kirkcudbright, passed down St. George's Channel, and landed in Brittany, on or about Good Friday, April 16. According to William Wyrcestre, whose contemporaneous notes are most valuable for the elucidation of the events of this period, she first went to her father in Anjou.[e] The object of her journey was to obtain assistance in her project of an invasion of England.

Louis XI., first cousin to herself and to Henry, had very lately succeeded to the crown of France, and to his court she bent her steps.

On June 23, 1462, she was at Chinon, in Touraine, where she executed a bond engaging to surrender Calais, if ever her lord recovered it, or to pay 40,000

[a] The surrender according to the recitals in the Act of attainder and resumption, 1 Edward IV., took place on St. Mark's Day, April 25. *Rot. Parl.* v. 478, col. 1.

[b] *Rot. Parl.* ibid. [c] *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, 386.

[d] *Rot. Parl. ibid.* *Paston Letters*, 391.

[e] "Mense Aprilis Regina Margareta per navem de Scocia adivit Franciam pro auxilio Regis Francie habendo."—"Die Parasceves Regina Margareta cum quatuor navibus de Kyrkhowbhryth in Scocia per mare inter Walliam et Hiberniam adivit Britanniam . . . ac posteà Andegavis ad patrem suum Regem Siciliæ et consequenter ad regem Francie pro auxilio habendo." Wyrc. 492, 493, events of 1461—2.

*livres*.[a] In consideration of this undertaking Louis advaneed her 20,000 *livres*, and, with a foree recruited in Franee, under eommand of Pierre de Brezé, Seigneur de Varennes, and Seneschal of Normandy, she set sail for Seotland.

This, it will be observed, was Margaret's First Voyage to the Continent.

During the Queen's absence her friends in Scotland would appear not to have been absolutely inactive, for we read in Hearne's *Fragment* that Piers de Brezé[b] in the second year of Edward IV. came out of Seotland and stole by treason the castle of Alnwick, whither were sent against him Sir William Lord Hastings, Sir J. Howard, and others, who besieged the castle, and de Brezé fell to agreement. Whereupon he, with his Frenchmen, departed the 30th day of July.

First surrender of Alnwick to Lancastrians, and re-capture by Yorkists in summer of 1462.

Wyrcestre confirms this to some extent. After mentioning Margaret's first voyage in April, 1462, and an embassy undertaken by Warwiek to eajole the Queen of Scots, which we know was in June,[c] he says that in July Lord Hastings and others besieged Alnwick, where William Taylboys, a notorious Lancastrian leader, was captured, who yielded on conditions, and Sir Ralph Grey (of Warke, ancestor of the present Earl Grey[d]) was put in as governor for Edward.

Wyrcestre does not tell us how long Taylboys had been in possession of the castle, and says nothing about any Frenchmen. He informs us, however, of the capture of Naworth Castle about the same time by Lord Montagu, and adds that Lord Dacre surrendered to Lord Montagu on certain conditions. This castle had belonged to Ralph Lord Dacre, slain at Towton and attainted in the first parliament of Edward, and it may be concluded from Wyreestre's note that, up to this time, Humphry, his brother and heir, had held it for King Henry. Upon the capture, however, he probably went over to King Edward, as we find him among other noblemen who in the winter of this year served in the expedition which resulted, as we shall presently see, in the re-capture by the Yorkists of the Northumbrian castles after their surrender to Queen Margaret.

Q. Margaret lands in Scotland, October, 1462.

Late in October,[e] or early in November,[f] 1462, the Queen landed in Seotland

[a] The original bond is still in the French archives. See Douët d'Areq, *Inventaire des Sceaux de France*, num. 10,044. The tenor of the instrument is given by Miss Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, iii. 269.

[b] There must, however, be a mistake in the leader's name, for it is sufficiently clear that de Brezé did not appear on the scene until November following, when he accompanied Margaret on her return from her first voyage, as we shall presently see.

[c] See *Archæological Journal*, xvii. 53, for a notice of a safe-conduct, dated June 17, 1462, from James III. of Scotland, for Warwick and the other ambassadors proceeding into Scotland.

[d] See sheet Pedigree, Raine's North Durham, facing p. 326.

[e] Wyrc. p. 494. Gregory, p. 218, says she landed in Northumberland seven days before All Hallow Tide, that is, about Oct. 25. This seems the most correct.

[f] Fabyan, fo. ccxv.

with her fleet, consisting it is said of 52 ships, carrying 2000 French and a few English.[a]

On piecing together the fragmentary statements of the available authorities, we may, I think, come to the conclusion that her plan of campaign, partly carried out, was to land her troops and, by conjoint operations by land and sea, to make herself mistress of the strongholds of the Northumbrian coast from Berwick to Newcastle.

I gather from Halle and Grafton, whose chronicles here run for the most part word for word together, that her sea force after landing the main body of troops (which was reinforced by a Scottish army) consisted of about 500 men.

Q. Margaret captures Bamborough, Alnwick, and Dunstanborough, Nov. 1462.

These writers state that she sailed towards Newcastle and landed at Tynemouth. On her way she or her land force took Bamborough Castle, the most northern of the coast defences. The capture of this place was known in Denbighshire by November 1.[b] It was committed to the keeping of Henry, Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Ralph Percy,[c] a younger brother of the Earl of Northumberland who fell at Towton and was attainted in the first Parliament of Edward IV.

Either then or, less probably, after her retreat from Tynemouth not long after, she attacked Alnwick Castle, the garrison of which, being short of supplies, yielded the place, and de Brezé's son, Lord Hungerford, Robert Whyttingham, and others were placed in it as a garrison.[d] Dunstanborough, situated between Bamborough and Alnwick, also fell to the Queen's arms about this time.

Fabyan (ccxv *verso*) says that King Edward on having tidings of this invasion sped him into the north with a strong host; and John Paston, junior, writing to his father from Holt Castle in Denbighshire on November 1, informs him that my Lord of Warwick went forward into Scotland on Saturday (30 October) with 20,000 men.[e]

[a] The number of ships is from Gregory—of men from W. Wyrcestre.

[b] *Paston Letters*, 463.

[c] Wyrc. p. 494.

[d] Wyrc. p. 494. "And there she took the Castle of Alnwick, and put it full of Frenchmen," says Gregory, p. 218.

[e] *Paston Letters*, 463. "Eodem anno, circa festum Omnium Sanctorum percurrente rumore de adventu Reginæ Margaretæ cum copiosa multitudine Francigenorum, Scottorum, et Anglorum sibi adhærentium processit festine nobilis ille belliger comes de Warwik cum suis et subsecutus est rex Edwardus ut eam cum complicibus suis effugarent. Quæ, fugâ initâ, tuciora quæsivit præsidii loca." *Brief Latin Chronicle*, p. 175.

This news seems to have alarmed the Queen, and, according to Halle and Grafton, the invading force which had landed at Tynemouth re-embarked.

Wyrcestre says, that, in company with de Brezé, the Queen fixed her camp at some place for which he leaves a blank, thinking that the whole country was ready to rise in her favour. No rising, however, took place, as her limited force inspired no confidence.

Q. Margaret abandons her expedition.

Margaret appears then to have determined to make off with her fleet to Berwick, where she seems to have left her son and (but this is not clear) her husband also, but, on the voyage from Tynemouth or whatever the turning point was, a storm arose, the result of which was very disastrous.

Gregory's account (I have here and elsewhere modernized the spelling) is as follows, "And then she returned (after taking Alnwick) into Scotland by water. And there rose such a tempest upon her that she forsook her ship and escaped in the ship's boat.[a] And the ship was drowned with much of her stuff and three great ships more, and four hundred and six Frenchmen were taken in the church of Holy Island."

Fabyan tells nearly the same story. He says that the Queen, hearing of Edward's preparations, "brake her array and fled,*[b] and took a carvyle, and therein intended to have sailed into France. But such tempest fell upon the sea that she was constrained to take a fisher's boat, and by meane thereof landed at Berwick,* and so drew her to the Scottish king. And shortly after her landing tidings came to her that * her said carvyle was drowned, within the which she had great treasure and other riches.* And the same day," Fabyan continues, "upon four hundred of the Frenchmen were driven upon land near unto Bamborough,[c] where they for so much as they might not have away their ships they fired them, and after for their safeguard took an island within Northumberland, where they were assailed by one called Manners with others in his company, and of them slain and taken prisoners as many as there were."[d]

Halle and Grafton corroborate this, naming Holy Island as the seat of the

[a] "A small carvel," Halle and Grafton.

[b] The passages between the asterisks are nearly word for word with the narrative given in Hearne's *Fragment*, p. 291.

[c] *At* Bamborough. Hearne's *Fragment*.

[d] The *Fragment*, says, "seeing no remedy to scape they brent their ships and fled to an island thereby, where they were slayne and takin everychone," by certain gentlemen there. Fabyan seems to have had before him the Chronicle of which Hearne preserves a "Fragment," or the work on which it was founded, so near is their language. Fabyan, however, adds a few facts.

adventure, mentioning "the Bastard Ogle and John Manners" as the assailants, and stating that many of the Frenchmen were slain, and nearly 400 taken and put to ransom. It is hard to understand why these French troops did not avail themselves of the shelter of Bamborough Castle, then in Henry's hands, if their wreck really took place off that fortress.[a]

I am not clear as to Henry's movements all this time; he no doubt remained in Scotland, whilst his Queen was on her French progress, "to see and espie," as Halle and Grafton say, "what way his friends in England would studye;" but whether, on her return with a land and sea force and with money, he ventured to cross the border at the head of the expedition thus undertaken, I cannot certainly find out. Worcester, after narrating the capture of the three castles, says, "Rex Henricus vero cum Regina, Brasse et aliis, metu Regis Edwardi superveniente, adiverunt Scotiam," as if he was then in England, but the writer may only mean that he was in Berwick, and retired thence into Scotland.

Sieges of Northumbrian castles, Dec. 1462.

Edward had left London on November the 3rd, and had marched up to the North, raising the country as he went. The three castles were besieged under his orders in December.[b]

We have an account of the disposition of the forces, with some other details, in a letter from John Paston the youngest, who was serving with the Duke of Norfolk. He writes from Newcastle on Dec. 11, 1462, stating that the castles were besieged "as on yesterday."[c]

A fragment of a similar letter, written probably from the seat of war about the same day, is preserved among the Cotton Charters, xvii. 10.[d]

A third account in Latin, but headed in English, "The Wednesday before Cristmasse, Anno Domini M.cccc.lxij°," is among the *Brief Notes* of these years, printed (pp. 158-9) in Mr. Gairdner's *Three Fifteenth-century Chronicles*.[e]

Putting together the information derived from these three sources, we learn that the King was at Durham, and kept his Christmas there; that the Duke of

[a] A new, but I doubt if a very certain, light is cast on this passage by an assertion in *Brief Notes*, p. 156, that Margaret after taking Alnwick was besieged in Bamborough. The writer adds a curious variation of the Holy Island story partly unintelligible to me, owing to the false Latin. I give it *verbatim*. "Regina Margareta cepit castrum de Anwyk et obsessa erat in castro de Banburw. Et cum cc Anglici intrassent quandam parvam insulam in illis partibus *ad succurendum se* si necesse fuisset, ipsis nescientibus, advenerunt cccc de Francigenis ad eos includendos et capiendos, et subito in Anglicos irrûerunt; sed capti et interfecti erant ex Francigenis cc et plures, et alii fugierunt ut dicitur."

[b] Wyrc.; Gregory, p. 219. Warkworth, p. 2.

[c] *Paston Letters*, p. 464.

[d] Printed in *Excerpta Historica*, Bentley, p. 365.

[e] Stow has used this p. 417.

Norfolk was at Newcastle, apparently commanding the supports; and that Warwick lay at Warkworth Castle "but three myle owt of Alnewyk" (Paston), and that with him were "the Lord Crumwell, the Lord Grey of Codnor, and my Lord Wenlok." (Cotton Ch.)

The Yorkist army is estimated at from twenty to forty thousand men by the Cotton Fragment, besides "the King's Host," and the *Brief Notes* account for 30,000 men equally divided among the beleaguering forces. These numbers appear very exeessive as compared with the small garrisons mentioned.

For curiosity's sake I have collated the three reports, and give the result in a footnote.[a]

Surrender of the castles, Christmas, 1462.

On Christmas Eve Bamborough and on St. John's Day (Stow), Dunstanborough surrendered on eonditions; life and limb were to be spared, Somerset, Percy, and some others, upon swearing allegiance to Edward at Durham, were to have restitution of their forfeited lands. This agreement was carried out, and Somerset was received into high favour by the King.[b] The custody of these two castles was given to Sir Ralph Percy, in accordanee with another article in the terms of surrender.

[a] Bamborough.

*Garrison.* Duke of Somerset, Lord Roos, Sir Ralph Perey with 200 or 300 men (*Cotton*) [and the Earl of Pembroke. *Brief Notes.*]

*Besiegers.* Earl of Worcester (*Cotton.*) [He was at Dunstanborough according to Paston.] Lords Montagu and Ogle. Lords Strange, Say, Grey de Wilton and Lumley (*Cotton.*) [Also the Earl of Arundel and 10,000 men. *Brief Notes.*]

Alnwick.

*Garrison.* Lord Hungerford, Sir Robert Whittingham (these two were old companions, an intercepted letter from them to Queen Margaret in Scotland written from Dieppe in August 30, 1461, acquainting her with the death of Charles VII. and cautioning her not to venture for the present to the Continent, will be found in *Paston Letters*, 413,) and Sir Thomas Fyndern and five or six hundred Frenchmen. [*Brief Notes* give the garrison at 300 men, and places Fyndern in Dunstanborough.]

*Besiegers.* Earl of Kent, Lord Scales and others (*Cotton*) [Earls of Warwick and Kent, and the Lords Powys, Greystock, and Cromwell with 10,000 men. *Brief Notes.*]

Dunstanborough.

*Garrison.* Sir Richard Tunstall, Doctor Morton (afterwards Bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor) and Sir Philip Wentworth, 600 or 700 men (*Cotton.*) [*Brief Notes* add Sir T. Fyndern, "Ballivus de Kam" with six score men, but this must be a slip for six hundred.]

*Besiegers.* Lords Fitzhugh, Scrope, Baron of Greystock, Lord Powys (*Cotton*). Earl of Worcester and Sir Ralph Grey (*Paston*), but the Earl of Worcester was at Bamborough according to *Cotton.* [*Brief Notes* name Lords Wenlock and Hastings "with other Lords" as besieging this Castle, placing Greystock and Powys at Alnwick.]

[b] Wyrc. *ubi supra.* Gregory, pp. 219, 220. This latter writer gives some curious particulars as to the good treatment Somerset met with at Edward's hands.

The third castle, Alnwick, held out until Twelfth Day (Jan. 6, 1463). On the eve of that day news suddenly arrived of the approach of a body of Scots[a] under Pierre de Brezé, whose son, as we have seen, had been left with Lord Hungerford in garrison there.

Early next morning they drew up before the castle. Warwick and all his forces advanced to meet them, but, finding themselves outnumbered, declined action.[b] The besieged made a sortie, and young de Brezé, Hungerford, Sir Richard Tunstall, Robert de Whittingham, and others, joined the Scots, who withdrew unmolested. Wyrcestre says that if the Scots had only been bold and wise, they might have destroyed the English nobles.[c] The Frenchmen who remained in the castle were given quarter and, surrendering, were suffered to depart.

Thus the northern strongholds were all for a short time in Edward's hands.

Sir Ralph Grey had expected to have been made captain or governor of Alnwick, but Edward, to the great disgust of Grey, gave the chief command to Sir John Ashley, Grey being made constable under him.[d]

Edward, as I understand Fabyan, had originally intended, when he found that Margaret had retired, to have pushed on and attacked the Scots;[e] however, "he was then visited with sickness . . . . ., so that he was forced to leave that journay." And after Alnwick was taken he went south, apparently to London.[f]

K. Edward and Warwick leave the north, early in 1463.

[a] And Frenchmen, *Brief Latin Chronicle*, p. 176, followed by Stow, p. 417. Halle and Grafton inform us that the Scots were 13,000 strong, and were under the command of Sir George Douglas. The information may be correct; but, owing to these chroniclers having (as we shall see in the sequel) antedated the battle of Hexham by two years, it seems at first sight to refer to the second and final capture of Alnwick by the Yorkists after that battle, in 1464.

[b] "Nostris non audentibus eis resistere," *Brief Latin Chronicle*. "The English looking on," Halle and Grafton. "Videntes se inferiores numero," Wyrc. p. 495.

[c] Warkworth, p. 2, narrates this event in much the same way. He says de Brezé had 20,000 Scots with him, and that either party was afraid of the other. "Had the Scots come on boldly, they mighte have taken and distressed all the Lords and Commoners, for they had laid so long in the field, and were grieved with colde and rain, that they had no courage to fight." But these events are placed erroneously in 1 Edward IV. 1461.

[d] Wyrc. p. 496. Gregory, p. 220.

[e] See *Brief Notes*, p. 157, for the names of dukes, earls, &c. including Lord Dacre of the North, with the King Edward "in hys jorny into Scottlong at the fest of S$^{t}$ Andrew in þe month of Decembyr. Anno Domini M°.cccc.lxij°." Stow (p. 415, ed. 1631) has copied this list down to the first six knights, adding "to the number of fifty-nine knights," which number agrees exactly with the list in *Brief Notes*.

[f] Gregory, *Brief Latin Chronicle*. The Latin Chronicle here makes the following reflexion: "Et in hac tam longa morâ tocius pene milicie Anglicane illic adversus adversarios nostros congregate, quid, queso, memorabile, quid laude dignum actum est nisi quod predicta tria castra capta sunt?"

Warwick, according to the Brief Latin Chronicler, remained a short time longer, maintaining the field with a few troops and keeping back the Scots.[a]

He then marched south and rejoined the King in London; but, "while they were merrymaking and I wot not what else,"[b] the Scots made a fresh incursion into Northumberland, and retook Bamborough and two other castles. Fabyan says this was about the time of Lent (Ash Wednesday in 1463 fell on February 23rd, and Easter on April 10th).

Recapture of the castles by French and Scots, Spring, 1463.

Sir Ralph Percy, it will be remembered, had been left in command of Bamborough and Dunstanborough. It was through his "collusion and treason," says Gregory, that the Frenchmen (he does not mention the Scots expressly) were allowed to take Bamborough from him "*nolens volo.*"[c]

Sir Ralph Grey also, "that false knight and traitor, by false treason," says the same chronicler, took Sir John Ashley, the governor of Alnwick, prisoner, delivered him to Queen Margaret, and surrendered that castle "to the Lord Hungerford and unto the Frenchmen accompanied with them."[d]

Dunstanborough, I suppose, was the third castle referred to by Fabyan as being retaken at this time, for it was still in Lancastrian hands in 1464, and was retaken by the Earl of Warwick after Hexham.

After the surrender of Alnwick to Lord Hungerford, and about Midsummer, King Henry, the Queen of Scots, and Sir Pierre de Brezé, if we are to believe Gregory and Stow, who alone mention it, advanced with 4,000 Scots and laid siege to Norham Castle and lay there eighteen days. Warwick and Montagu, however, raised the siege, and Henry and the King (? Queen) of Scots were put to flight.

Margaret now disappears from the theatre of war. Whether, as Gregory[e] would have us believe, in consequence of the hard pressure put upon her by Warwick and Montagu after the relief of Norham Castle, or from the loss of her treasure in the shipwreck and general despair of further success, coupled with a desire to place her infant son in safety, she undertook her Second Voyage.

Q. Margaret's second voyage, April, 1463.

Sailing from Bamborough in April of this year in company with the Duke of Exeter, Sir John Fortescue, the famous Chief Justice, and others to the number

[a] So I translate "Scottos cum suis excuciens," *Br. Lat. Chron.* p. 176.

[b] "Epulantibusque illis Londini et nescio quid agentibus." *Ibid.*

[c] Gregory, and see *Rot. Parl.* v. 511.

[d] Wyrcester puts the betrayal of Alnwick in May, 1463, which was *after* Queen Margaret's departure on her second voyage. He says that Grey expelled Ashley, who fell into the hands of Sir Ralph Percy.

[e] Page 220.

of two hundred,[a] she landed at Sluys in Flanders, and was conducted to Bruges by the Count of Charolois (son of Philip the Good of Burgundy, and afterwards married to Edward's sister, the well-known Duchess of Burgundy, so troublesome to Henry VII.), who most abundantly provided for her. Afterwards the Queen was brought to the Duke of Burgundy at Lisle, where most piteously she declared her case of the loss of the Realm of England and begged for aid. The Duke comforted her and gave her [*blank*] thousand *écus* for her expenses, and sent her with her English attendants "in propriam patriam patris sui in Lotharingiam, ubi pater suus dedit sibi quoddam castrum valoris [*blank*] ut ibi expectaret eventus mundi:"[b] that is, that she might abide the course of events.

I find no good reason for thinking that she ever returned to England until 1470, when the remarkable event occurred of King Henry's restoration for a few short months.

Q. Margaret's supposed return to England discussed.

That this is not the current opinion I am well aware. As we shall see further on, Margaret is commonly stated to have been present at the battle of Hexham, which was fought in 1464.

Now the Queen's return to England after this second voyage is nowhere distinctly stated by any contemporary chronicler,[c] and there is direct evidence that she remained in France, as I have just said, until the year 1470.

Richard de Wassebourg, whose chronicle called *Antiquités de la Gaule*

[a] Wyrc. p. 496. Easter fell on April 10 in 1463, and, as we have seen, it was in Lent that the Scots, or Lancastrian party, retook Bamborough. She fled away, says Gregory, p. 220, with all her council, and Sir Pierre de Brezé and his Frenchmen (*i. e.* all who survived) by water with four balynggarys (vessels of some sort, *ballengers*, *Froiss.* See Ducange s. v. Balingaria): and they landed at the Scluse in Flanders, and left King Henry that was behind them, &c.

[b] Wyrc. *ubi supra.* The particulars of the reception of the Queen in Flanders are given in Du Clercq and the continuator of Monstrelet, as referred to later on. According to Du Clercq (Buchon, *Monstrelet*, xiv. 297) Charolois was at Lille, the Duke at Hesdin. He says, the Duke gave her 2,000 gold crowns, de la Varende—as he calls Brezé—1,000, and each of her ladies 100 crowns, "et sy les feit convoyer hors de ses pays, et tant qu'elle fust ès pays de Barois, ou estoit son frère, le duc de Calabre, qui en estoit seigneur."

[c] The statement in Hearne's *Fragment*, p. 294, that in the same year (1463) King Harry was taken in the north, and Edmond Duke of Somerset with his brother John were yet in Scotland with Queen Margaret, &c. is of no value. Henry was not taken prisoner until 1465, and Edmond Duke of Somerset did not succeed to the title until 1464, when his brother Henry was beheaded after Hexham field. Indeed the passage is marked in the margin by a more recent hand: "False—for he (that is Edmond) was gon to the Burgon (*i.e.* to the low countries) the yere before." See Letter of Sir John Fortescue in Ld. Clermont's *Hist. of The Family of Fortescue.* 2nd edit. 1880, pp. 71-2.

*Belgique* was finished about 1540, and printed at Paris in 1549, was a canon and archdeacon in the cathedral church of Verdun in Lorraine. His father, in reward of services rendered to King René, had been ennobled by that prince, and he himself shows such evident interest in the fortunes of the House of Anjou, that any particulars relating to that family which he records, may, I think, although he was not a contemporary writer, be accepted as most likely to be accurate.

At folio xcix *b* of his work, in connection with Margaret's second voyage, that is, to the Court of Burgundy, and thence into France, he says, using, it should be remarked, almost the very phrase of William Wyrcestre, that she remained there "attendant meilleur fortune." But this is not all, for, at folio cxxiii *a*, he mentions a summons by Louis XI. to King René, issued about June 1470, to meet him at Angers, accompanied by his daughter Queen Margaret and her son, who, says Wassebourg, "since their last return into France, which was in the year 1463, chiefly resided in the Duchy of Bar, which was part of the true patrimony of the King René, in the Château called Kneure (the margin calls it Keure), near the town of St. Michel (St. Mihiel in the modern maps), in our dioceese of Verdun."

I may add to this testimony that of the anonymous continuator of the Croyland History, which I extract in the footnote. He has however overlooked, or omitted as unimportant, Margaret's first voyage and return to England.[a]

But to proceed with our account of the events of 1463.

The *Brief Latin Chronicle* seems to me to throw a little new light on the military proceedings of the next few months; yet this is but darkness visible, as I must confess. The writer, who gives stronger hints of dissatisfaction with Edward's strategy than we are apt to find in the colourless memoranda which for the most part compose our materials for the history of this time, starts with the meeting of Parliament on April 29,[b] and the prorogation on June 18, "et quæ

[a] *Hist. Croyl. Contin.* Gale *Script.* i. 533. After a description of Towton field, he says, "Fugit etiam cum paucis eodem temporis articulo Rex Henricus in Scotiam, ubi continuè et in castris eidem conterminis, per quatuor postmodum annos in magnâ delituit confusione. Regina verò Margareta cum filio suo Edwardo, quem de præfato susceperat Henrico, etiam fugæ consulens, *non cito denuò reversura*, in partes interim secesserat transmarinas."

[b] This date is correct, *Rot. Parl.* v. 498. The prorogation was not on June 18th but on the preceding day, and the reason assigned was the king's enforced absence to oppose his enemies of Scotland and his traitors and rebels. The prorogation was until November 4th.

mala ibi repressa aut reformata, vel quid boni ibi adauetum nescio." Then he states, that after Whitsuntide (Whitsunday fell on May 28 in 1463) the Earl of Warwick went north,[a] collected an army, and set himself to harass the party of Henry and his Scots, Frenchmen, &c., who fled on his approach. Possibly this sentence refers to the relief of Norham already mentioned, but of which we have not the exact date, and that it was during this expedition that occurred the recapture of Berwick-on-Tweed by the stout Earl which Stow records.

K. Edward's expedition to the north, Sept. 1463.

It was apparently early in September, "post festum Nativitatis Beatissime Marie Semper Virginis" (September 8), that Edward himself raised a great army, and addressed himself to the task of subduing his adversaries by land and sea. "Nescio tamen quid in illo viagio profecerit."

The Earl of Worcester had the command of a fleet, but achieved no success. The chronicler's words are worth quoting, "Et comes de Worcester cum suo navigio (navy) et marinariis, litoribus maris et portubus quasi latitantes, annonasque suas consumentes infecto negocio vacui cum dedecore remearunt. O infelix successus, opprobrium et confusio."

Gregory is to the same effect (p. 221), "Then the King Edward the Fourth purposed to make an army into Scotland by land and by water, that the great rebellious Harry and the Queen Margaret should not pass away by water." Here is a distinct hint of an attempted invasion of Scotland, but as to Margaret, Gregory forgets that a few lines previously he has plainly told us how that she, de Brezé, and the rest, had already left and got them to Flanders. He proceeds, "And the King made the Earl of Worcester captain by water. And then there was ordained a great navy and a great army, both by water and by land. And all was lost and in vain, and came to no purpose, neither by water nor by land."

It is disappointing not to find what the "great navy and army" attempted to do. One thing is clear, that the North remained very unquiet. The three Northumbrian castles of which we have heard so much, and probably other fortified places of less importance, were still in Lancastrian hands. Danger from Scotland seems still to have been apprehended, and it was not until October 27th that a truce with France was proclaimed, to date (for the French) from October 20, 1463, and for England, Ireland, and the Isles, from November 15, to last until

[a] Commissions of array were issued on June 2, 3 Edward IV. (1463) under the Great Seal, because the French and others intended to invade the realm; Warwick was constituted warden of the West, and Montagu of the East March. Rymer, xi. 501.

October 1, 1464, Louis undertaking to show no favour either to Henry or to Margaret. A truce with Scotland was also arranged in December.[a]

We come at length to the year 1464. The Parliament, no doubt on account of the unsettled state of affairs, had been further prorogued before the appointed day of meeting to February 20, at York.

Early in this year, as I gather from the *Brief Latin Chronicle*, and from other sources, Henry began to move again.

This chronicler is, I think, the only one who informs us that, while Edward was feasting with his lords in London, the partizans of the deposed monarch seized the castles of Norham and Skipton in Craven, wherupon Edward again made for the North to recover what was lost and defend what remained to him, "Quid tamen utile ibi gesserit nescio."[b] Somerset, who had hitherto continued with Edward, about this time again changed sides, and made off to join King Henry.[c]

The Parliament was again adjourned, to meet at York on May 5th.[d] But before this day came, the Lancastrians were encountered by Lord Montagu[e] (who had shortly before taken the field) at Hedgeley Moor on St. Mark's Day (April 25), and at Hexham on May 8, 1464, and were completely routed. Henry himself was present at the second battle, and was all but taken prisoner.[f] He escaped,

Battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham, April and May, 1464.

[a] Rymer, xi. 509, 510.

[b] *Brief Latin Chronicle*, p. 178, see Mr. Gairdner's preface, p. xxiv.

[c] Gregory, p. 223. This is also mentioned in most of the books.

[d] *Rot. Parl.* v. 499.

[e] Fabyan, *sub annis* 1463-4. "In this yere and moneth of May, whyche was in the begynnyng of the iiij yere of King Edwarde, Lord John of Montagu, havinge then the rule in the northe partes, beynge warned of the comyng of Henry late kynge wyth greate power out of Scotland, assembled the northyn men, and mett with hym about Exam, &c." Not a word, be it observed, about the presence of Queen Margaret. The movements of Montagu immediately before the battles are given with some little detail by Gregory.

[f] An episode of the battle of Hexham is not without interest. The author of the *Brief Latin Chronicle*, after noticing the battle, says—"Deliberata sunt in breve domino de Mowntagu castra de Langeley the Tawne, Turris de Exham; castrum etiam de Bywell. In quo quidem castro inventum est le helmet regis Henrici cum coronâ et gladio et faleris dicti Henrici. Et quo modo aut quo ipse evasit, novit deus, in cujus manû corda sunt Regum. Camd. Soc. p. 179."

"John, Lord Montagu," says Fabyan, (ccxv. v°.) "after the battle of Hexham, chased Henry so nere, that he wan from him certayne of his folowers trapped with blewe velvet, and hys bycocket garnysshed with two crownes of golde, and fret wyth perle and riche stone."

however, possibly into Scotland, but, as is well known, was captured in Lancashire not many months afterwards, and was conveyed to the Tower of London, and kept there until 1470.

These two notes of trophies taken from Henry on the occasion of his flight differ in describing the head-piece as a "helmet" and as a "bycocket." They may or may not both mean the same thing. What a "bycocket" was we shall see presently, but first I wish to call attention to the wonderful transformations which the word itself has undergone at the hands of the later chroniclers.

Halle (followed by Grafton), with a sneer at this unfortunate prince, says "King Henry was the best horseman of his company, for he fled so fast that no man could overtake him, and yet he was so near pursued that certain of his henchmen and followers were taken, their horses trapped in blew velvet: whereof one of them had on his hed the said King Henry's healmet. Some say his high cap of estate called abocockeD (Halle, fol. ii. v°.), Abococket (Grafton, ii. 661), garnished with two riche crowns, which was presented to King Edward at Yorke, the fourth day of May."

The word seems to have puzzled the printers. Halle first misprints abocockeD for a bycocket, and then Grafton restores the t, but throws the indefinite article into the word with a capital A. Holinshed has further improved on Grafton and turned the head-piece into Abacot.

Spelman in his glossary has got hold of this monstrous corruption, "Abacot," from Holinshed, whom he quotes, giving the definition "Pileus augustalis Regum Anglorum duobus coronis insignitus." And from Spelman (or from Holinshed), Bailey, Ash, and, I believe, other English dictionary makers have inserted the ridiculous word.

The first article in the late Mr. Planché's *Cyclopædia of Costume* is on "Abacot, Abocked, Abocket, Bycocket." This very agreeable and learned writer has failed, probably from quoting at second hand, to see that the true word is Bycocket, and that Abacot, &c. &c. are mere corruptions. But I think he has shown clearly and for the first time what a Bycocket is.

Willement in his *Regal Heraldry* quotes a passage from Leland's *Collectanea*, iv. 225, giving an account of the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth of York, on which occasion the Earl of Derby as Constable of England entered Westminster Hall, "mounted on a courser richely trapped, and enarmed (that is to say) Quarterly, Golde, in the first quarter a lion gowles, having a man's head in a *Bycockett* of silver, and in the second a lyon of sable. This trapper was right curiously wrought with the nedell, for the mannes visage in the *Bycockett* shewde veryle (? fayrle) well favorde.

Willement is inclined, but no doubt wrongly, to connect this curious bearing with another device borne in a banner at Elizabeth of York's funeral. Mr. Planché, however, more judiciously observes that the device of a lion with a man's head in a "bycocket" did not belong to the Stanleys. But, says he, it is to be seen in a standard of John Ratcliff, Baron Fitzwalter (*Book of Standards*, Coll. Arms,) and he finds that Fitzwalter and others were associated in 3rd Henry VII. for exercising the office of High Steward of England at Queen Elizabeth's Coronation." It is therefore clear that it was Lord Fitzwalter as High Steward, and not the Earl of Derby as constable, who rode the courser so "trapped and enarmed."

Mr. Planché in his Plate I. lettered, I am sorry to say, "Abacot," instead of "Bycocket," figures the man-lion from Fitzwalter's standard, temp. Henry VII. where the Bycocket on his head is evidently identical with the so-called cap of estate or cap of maintenance, of which his drawings on the same plate show examples from the seals of Edward the Black Prince and Richard Duke of York, and from the grant to John de Kingston by Richard II. *Harl. MS.* 5804, with other specimens. After remarking "that

Lord Montagu, the victorious general, was created Earl of Northumberland by King Edward at York, on Trinity Sunday (May 27), 1464.[a] Accompanied by his brother, the Earl of Warwick, he laid siege on June 25th to Bamborough Castle, which fell to their assault after a short bombardment.[b] Alnwick and Dunstanborough had already surrendered.

the (Abacot or) Bycocket was not peculiarly a *royal* cap of state appears from an entry in a fifteenth century MS. (L 8, fol. 54 b. Coll. Arms) entitled 'The apparel for the field of a baron in his Sovereign's company,' Item, another pe. (? paire) of hostyng harness [to] ryde daily with all, with a *bycocket*, and alle other apparel longynge thereto," he goes on to say, "It is, I think, evident, that the (abocock or) bycocket was the cap so frequently seen in illuminations of the fifteenth century turned up behind, coming to a peak in front, varying and gradually decreasing in height, encircled with a crown when worn by regal personages, and similar to if not identical with what is now called the knight's chapeau, first appearing in the reign of Edward III. and on which (when used upon a helmet) the crest is placed."

The word is French, but of uncertain derivation. Under the word Bigacia, Ducange says "*Bicoquet* vero, et *biquoquet*, ornamentum est capitis, capitii species, in Addit. ad Monstrel. anno 1465, fol. 10 v°. *Un Breton, archier de corps du duc de Berry, accoustré d'une brigandines . . . . . et un Bicoquet sur son chief, garni de boutons d'argent doré.*" He cites also a will dated 1473 containing a bequest of a "*Biquoquet fourni d'argent.*" Roquefort gives the word with the same meaning. I cannot find it in any of the other old French glossaries which I have been able to consult, and M. Littré has not included it in his great French Dictionary.

There is some authority, at least so M. Viollet le Duc seems to think, for a *bicoquet* having at one time been a particular kind of helmet. See Planché's *Cyclopædia*, i. v. Bycocket, a distinct article, in which he discusses this opinion.

[a] Patent 4 Edward IV. 1ª pars. m. 10, Carte rightly gives the date of this creation as May 27, and Wyrcestre, p. 499, agrees with this: "Dominus Rex postea (*i. e.* post praelium apud Hexham) in festo Trinitatis pro honore captionis dicti ducis Somersetiæ creavit prædictum Dominum Mountagu in Comitem Northumbriæ, deditque eidem Comiti omnia dominia et terras quæ quondam fuerunt Henrici Percy infra Comitatum Northumbriæ." Yet in a patent passed May 26, 4 Edward IV. John "Earl of Northumberland and Lord of Montague," has commission to treat for peace with Scotland. (*Rot. Scot.* 4 E. IV. m. 14.)

And the narrative of the siege of Bamborough (*MS. Coll. Armor.*) printed in Warkworth, *Note*, p. 36, and in Bohn's *Chronicles of the White Rose*, a useful little book, begins "May 27, Anno Domini 1464. The King lay in the palace of York and kept his estate there solemnly, and there created he Sir John Neville Lord Montague Earl of Northumberland."

Dugdale, *Bar.* i. 307 refers to the same patent roll, but to the wrong membrane, 6 instead of 10, and dates the patent May 23.

The creation is dated by subsequent writers (all incorrectly) as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Burke *Extinct and Dormant Peerages* . . . | 1461 |
| Banks *Extinct and Dormant Peeragee* . . | 1463 |
| H. Drummond, *Noble British Families* (Neville) | |
| Nicolas' *Historic Peerage*, by Courthope . . . | 1465, May 27 |

[b] Radulfus Gray fugit de Hexham ante bellum inceptum ad castrum Bamburghe, et post bellum d

The North was now finally subdued for the dominant party. The only place, indeed, in the realm which held out after this for Henry was the strong castle of Harlech, which had once afforded a shelter to his fugitive Queen, and continued, under its gallant defenders, David ap Jevan ap Einion, and Reynold ap Griffith ap Pletheũ, to hold out until taken by William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, in 1468.[a] The Yorkists masters of the situation, 1464.

The Parliament, which had been again prorogued to meet at York on November 26th, was further adjourned to Westminster, where it met for the despatch of business on January 21, 1464–5, 4th Edward IV.[b]

One of the first things done was to pass a bill of attainder against the Lancastrian leaders, including the late Duke of Somerset, Sir Ralph Percy, and others.[c]

The Duke had been taken at Hexham, and was then and there beheaded. This nobleman, nearly related to King Henry, had been placed by him in positions of high trust, and, after Towton Field, in the Parliament of the first year of Edward IV. was attainted as a principal adherent of the deposed King. Afterwards, as already observed, he changed sides and was restored in blood, but, having returned to his old allegiance, he commanded the Lancastrian forces at Hexham.

The recitals to the subsequent Act of Attainder of Somerset and others are conclusive as to the dates of both battles.[d] They narrate how that Henry late Duke of Somerset, now dead, was attainted anno primo, and in this present Parliament restored to his honours and dignities, and nevertheless "took his viage prively oute of the parties of North Wales[e] unto he came into the shire of Northumberlond, where Henry late called King . . . . kept traitorously and rebelliously the King's castles of Bamborough, Dunstanborough, and Alnwyke . . . . and with hym confedered to the distruction of our said Sovereign Lord by battaill and to the same entent and effect at Exham in the said shire the eighth day of May, in the said fourth year, rered werre ayenst our said Soveraygne Lord."

Hexham multi ex parte Regis Henrici fugerunt in eodem castro. Et non longò postea comes Warwick cum maximis bumbardis obsedit idem castrum. Wyrc. p. 499. Fabyan, p. ccxvi. mentions also the capture of Sir R. Grey, and the fall of the castle. Grey was beheaded at Doncaster as soon as his wounds were cured.

[a] Mr. Halliwell's Notes on Warkworth, p. 34. See *Rot. Parl.* v. 512.

[b] *Rot. Parl.* v. 500, 508.

[c] *Ibid.* v. 511.

[d] *Rot. Parl. ibid.*

[e] See Gregory, pp. 220, 223

And, again, how that "Rauf Percy knyght after long abode in rebellion was also received into grace and great trust, but against his duty delivered Bamborough and Dunstanborough traitorously to "Henry the Kynges enemye; and after that, on the feast of St. Marc Evangelist, in the said fourth year, at Heggelay More in the said shire of Northumberland, ayeinst our said Soverayne Lord rered war."

Here I conclude my summary, a reference to which will, I hope, make what follows easier to be understood.

As we have left off with the defeat and execution of Henry, Duke of Somerset, it will be convenient if we commence by examining Sir W. Dugdale's account of that matter, as given in the Beaufort genealogy, *Baronage*, ii. 124.

This is far from accurate. First he says that the Duke, to ingratiate himself with Edward, surrendered Bamborough Castle to him. This, as we have seen, was at Christmas 1462. He proceeds thus: "Also that the year next following (*scilicet* An. 1463, 3 E. 4), hearing that Queen Margaret was returned out of France into Scotland, with considerable forces, and that she had entered Northumberland, taken the castle of Bamburgh, and was marching on towards the Bishoprick, he revolted again and fled to the Lancastrian party."

Cause and effect are here inverted in order. Somerset's surrender of the castle at Christmas 1462 was the result of his having been already placed in it by Margaret or under her orders in the previous November. It was not until 1464 or, at all events, very late in the previous year, that he returned to his old allegiance.

"But this shifting (Dugdale continues) proved fatal to him, for John Nevill, then Lord Montacute, upon the news thereof [really upon the news that Henry was stirring in the north], being sent into Northumberland with a great power, gave them battel near Hexham, where, the Lancastrians being routed, this Duke Henry was, amongst other of the chief in that encounter, taken prisoner and then beheaded, 3 Apr. 3 E. 4."

The historical facts are vouched by reference to Holinshed, and the date 3 Apr. 3 E. 4 by reference to Esch. 8 E. 4, n. 54.

The inquisition thus referred to returns that "predictus nuper dux (Henry, Duke of Somerset) obiit tertio die Aprilis anno Regni dicti domini Regis nunc tertio." This finding, however, though rightly quoted by Dugdale, is plainly mistaken, the death being a full year too soon. It is to be observed that the inquisition was not taken until four years after Somerset's death, and the exact

date of that event may have been, by that time, and for the immediate purpose of the inquisition, a matter of minor importance.

It is worth remarking that the inquisition of 8 Edward IV. had already misled the usually accurate Vincent. In his *Discovery of Errors, &c.*, p. 480, he takes "Master Brooke" to task for asserting that Somerset was beheaded immediately after the battle of Hexham in 1462; and would set him right by quoting this inquisition, and so placing the battle and the execution in 1463, the true date being 1464.

Dugdale concludes by stating that afterwards, *scilicet* in 5 Edward IV., the Duke was attainted in the Parliament held in that year.

Sandford (*Genealogical History*, ed. Stebbing, p. 385) cites the same record and dates the duke's death 3 April, 1463, and as taking place after his capture at Hexham.[a]

Collins in his Peerage repeats Dugdale's mistake, and his editor Sir Egerton Brydges has not corrected it.

Neither has Mr. Courthope in his edition of Sir N. H. Nicolas's *Historic Peerage;* for he says that the duke "being taken in arms against King Edward IV. at the battle of Hexham was beheaded 3 April, 1463."[b] He makes a further mistake in adding that in the Parliament which met 29 April, immediately after his death, the Act of Restitution in his favour was declared null and void, so that his honours fell under the former attainder (of 1 Edward IV.) and were again forfeited. We have here the month and day of the original meeting of the Parliament in 1463 which then restored him, instead of January 21, 1465, when, as we have seen, the second attainder or reversal of restitution, was really passed.

Dugdale, as already mentioned, quotes Holinshed for the wrongly dated events of the Hexham campaign; but Holinshed has done no more than abridge Halle (or Grafton), for, excepting a few flourishes of Halle's which Grafton has omitted, the two books in this part agree (as already mentioned) almost exactly.

Holinshed, it may be sufficient to notice, gives the year date 1463 in his margin p. 666, opposite to the account of Hexham, places the Queen's first voyage as it would seem in this year, and, indeed, does not change the year date

[a] I have to thank Mr. C. T. Martin, F.S.A. for his kindness in verifying Dugdale's citation of the inquisition mentioned above. He informs me that a second inquisition also referred to by Dugdale (Esch. 5 Edward IV. No. 38) a few lines lower down, gives no date of the Duke's execution.

[b] It may here be noticed, that Banks *Extinct* and *Dormant Baronages*, ii. 262, Courthope's Nicolas's *Historic Peerage*, and *Burke's Extinct* and *Dormant Peerages*, all agree in beheading Robert Lord Hungerford, another important Lancastrian commander, at Hexham in 1463, instead of 1464.

until after the battles, the King's flight, Somerset's execution, and the final retaking of the castles and the creation of Montagu as Earl of Northumberland.

Halle himself, it must be observed, states the sequence of events pretty accurately, but the blunder of two years underlies all his story.

Thus, in his account of the second year of Edward IV. 1462, he anticipates the events of the fourth year by placing in the former year the battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham, the capture and execution of the Duke of Somerset, and the final recapture of the castles. Indeed, he has either overlooked their previous capture or has confounded the two events,[a] for he mentions but one military operation of the kind.

Still treating of the second year, Halle makes Edward return to York and create Lord Montagu Earl of Northumberland. He then introduces the events of 1463 by a statement which he got from Polydore Virgil or a common source.

Polydore (p. 513, ed. 1546), after giving, with great brevity and without exact date, a notice of the battle of Hexham and the execution of Somerset and others, proceeds thus :—

> At rex Edouardus, etsi câ novâ victoriâ res demum suas satis confirmatas esse pro tempore arbitrabatur, tamen magnoperè curabat, ut ne Margarita Henrici uxor ad solicitandos hominum animos in Angliam rediret, quocirca toto littore præsidia disponebat, maritimos aditus claudendi causâ, scribebatque ad singulos meridionalis oræ populos, ne mulierem venientem reciperent, néve ulla re juvarent, . . . . . ad eam item partem, quæ ad Scoticum agrum pertinet, custodias habebat, ne quispiam ad Henricum ex regno adiret.

All this clearly belongs to 1464, and agrees with the presence of Henry as a fugitive in Scotland and with the residence of Margaret on the continent.

But, in translating or adapting the passage, Halle has altered the sense to suit his false chronology; for he says that Edward provided against King Henry

[a] This is the most probable, forHalle makes Queen Margaret give the custody of Bamborough to Sir Ralph Grey, who, as we have seen, was in 1462 on the Yorkist side, but, having changed party, defended the same castle in 1464, after Hexham was taken, when the place fell, and he was beheaded as above stated. And again, before mentioning the taking of Bamborough (1462) he tells how Margaret took Alnwick, and says she made de Brezé captain there, and that he held it with his Frenchmen till rescued. It was de Brezé's son who was really left in Alnwick and rescued by his father in the first week of 1463.—*Vide ante.* Halle afterwards gives (as above) the story of the rescue, but puts it after Hexham—thus confusing it with the final reduction in 1464.

or Queen Margaret remaining in England, to which end he edified bulwarks, &c., wrote to the south parts in no wise to receive the Queen or aid her, and set watches *for her* on the Scottish border, as Henry and his company lay then sojourning in Scotland.

He then relates Henry's entrance into England in disguised apparel and his subsequent capture as in 1463, twelve months and more too soon, and then says that the Queen, hearing of the captivity of her husband, departed out of Scotland and sailed into France, where she remained with her father until her unfortunate journey into England again, where she lost both husband and son.

This departure is of course rightly dated in 1463, but the error in date of the Hexham campaign has produced all this confusion and the impression that Margaret was still in Scotland after the battle.

These mistakes in the date of the battle so often named are old enough. For example, *The Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London* (Camden Society), which has the air of a contemporary authority, has at p. 21 the following entry:—

> Edwardus Quartus Rex . . . . iij°A°.
> . . . . And this year was the battelle of Hexham felde.

*The Short English Chronicle*, again, p. 79, confuses the first with the second taking of the castles by the Yorkists, noting the siege of Bamborough, the bombardment and the beheading of the captain Sir R. Grey at York (it should have been Doncaster) in "Anno ii." instead of Anno iv. This chronicle also places the battle of Hexham in Anno iii. 1463.

Hearne's *Fragment* also antedates the action, referring it to "the same year as that in which Queen Margaret returned from France," *id est*, in 1462, after her first voyage.

Again, *Rastell's Chronicle*, printed in 1529, places the battle in the *second* year of King Edward;[a] while Habington's *History of Edward IV.* written about 1640, and printed by Bishop Kennett, in vol. 2 of his *History of England*, says it was fought in 1463;[b] and, in a footnote, quotes Holinshed for the statement which he thus amplifies:—

"The miserable queen, seeing the desolation of her greatness, her husband imprisoned, all her great friends fled or slaughtered, made again her retreat into France."

[a] Page 279, reprint of 1811.

[b] Page 435.

To conclude the list, I will only add, that Speed also dates the battle as taking place in 1463, and that Yorke, in his List of "Battels," at the end of his *Union of Honour*, p. 36, thrusts the taking of Bamborough (in 1462) into the same year, right this time, as the battle of Hexham, 1464.[a]

Coming to more modern writers it is perhaps no matter for surprise that, with such an array of respectable authorities in her favour, Miss Strickland, in her *Life of Queen Margaret of Anjou*, should have fallen into the common mistake as to the date of the battle. She has also been led into giving a very romantic but curiously inaccurate version of the famous story of "The Queen and the Robber," and it may not be uninteresting to make some little investigation into the anecdote, and the authority on which it rests.

Our popular authoress's tale[b] may thus be abstracted: In the spring of 1463, she says, Sir Ralph Percy was defeated and slain at Hedgeley Moor by Neville Lord Montagu, and that a few days later, "England was again set on a field" at the fatal battle of Hexham; and so she proceeds to notice King Henry's escape from the fight, continuing her narrative thus: "When the victorious Yorkists broke into the camp at Levels (Hexham Levels) Margaret . . . fled with her son on foot into an adjacent forest, where . . . she unfortunately fell in with a gang of robbers, who . . . surrounded and despoiled her and her son of their jewels and costly robes of estate. While they were quarrelling about the division of the plunder, Margaret . . . snatched up her son in her arms, and fled to a distant thicket, unobserved by the pitiless ruffians, who were deciding their dispute at the sword's point. When the shades of evening closed round, the fugitive Queen and her son . . . began to thread the tangled mazes of the forest, dreading above any other peril the misfortune of falling into the hands of King Edward's partisans. . . . While Margaret . . . was considering what course to pursue, she perceived, by the light of the moon, another robber of gigantic stature advancing towards her with a drawn sword. Gathering courage . . . she took her son by the hand, and presenting him to the freebooter . . . said, 'Here, my friend, save the son of your king.' Struck with astonishment at the majestic beauty of the mother . . . the robber dropped his weapon . . . and offered to conduct them to a place of safety. A few words explained to the Queen that the outlaw was a Lancashire gentleman, who had

[a] Warkworth gives the date correctly, so does Stowe, whose account of the three years 1462—4 is very accurate. He notices the first and second captures of the castles by the Lancastrians in the right places.

[b] *Lives of the Queens*, 2nd edition, iii. 271.

been ruined in King Henry's service. . . . He led the Queen to his own retreat, a cave in Hexham Forest, where the royal fugitives were refreshed," &c. &c.

The Queen, after her *rencontre* with the robber, meets de Brezé and others of her friends, who inform her of her husband's flight and the execution of Hungerford and others. They take leave of the outlaw and his wife, who by refusing payment for her hospitality gives occasion for a fine speech on the part of the Queen. She resolves to proceed to Scotland, and crossing the Solway lands at Kirkcudbright, in company with de Brezé and his squire. There she is recognised by a certain Englishman called Cork, who determines to betray her. He contrives to hurry the whole party on board a vessel, and puts to sea. The French knight and squire overpower and slay the crew, and the boat is driven on to a sandbank off Cantyre, where de Brezé lands the Queen on his shoulders, the squire performing the same office for Prince Edward.

The party then contrive to reach Edinburgh; thence, after a while, they proceed to Bamborough, and from that place accompanied by Sir John Forteseue and others the Queen and Prince sail to Sluys, as we have seen they really did, only it was a year before the battle of Hexham. The tale concludes by the historical fact of the Queen's reception at Bruges and passage to her father's country.

Miss Strickland's authorites for all this are Monstrelet, "Wassabourg," Carte, Barante, and Prevost, all referred to without either chapter or verse.

Wassebourg, Barante, and Carte are soon disposed of.

The first, so far as I can make out, from a careful examination of his book, does not even allude to the adventure. Miss Strickland calls him a contemporary well acquainted with Margaret. This he certainly was not, for he wrote in the days of Francis I.

Barante is a modern author of a history of Burgundy. He mentions the Queen's landing at Sluys and reception at Bruges, and tells the adventure as if it happened in 1463, but after Hexham.

Carte, a writer of the last century, dates the battle correctly, but imagines that Margaret was present at it. He merely says the woods about Hexham are the likeliest scene for Monstrelet's tale, which he proceeds to give.[a]

As to Monstrelet, he died in 1453, some years before the incident could possibly have happened, and assuredly he did not, as Miss Strickland asserts[b] was the case, have the story from the Queen's lips.

[a] *History of England*, ii. 767.

[b] Page 273, note. I can find in the *pseudo*-Monstrelet no suggestion of the kind.

The tale is indeed to be found in the third book of the collection called *Monstrelet's Chronicles;* but, as M. Buchon[a] has shown, cannot have been written by Monstrelet. He adds that, in the portion which extends to 1467, the text of Du Clercq is followed, but mutilated and confused in the order of chapters and dates.

Now Du Clercq records, as in 1462, King Louis' assistance given to Margaret, in the shape of 2,000 fighting men, under de Brezé, and the want of success of the expedition, which is set down to Somerset's defection.[b] Here he stops to narrate several events of Flemish history in 1463, and so concludes his fourth book. Of these events, one only, the death of Robert le Jeune, governor of Arras, April 12, 1463, is copied by the *pseudo*-Monstrelet, p. 95 verso. Du Clercq's fifth book begins thus:

Environ ce temps la royne d'Angleterre . . . . . comme elle passoit par une forest en Angleterre, elle et son fils, pour garandir son fils, elle fut prinse des pillards, lesquels l'euissent mis à mort, si dissention ne fut meue entre eux, pour le butin des joyaux d'icelle dame; et ainsi qu'ils se combattoient icelle dame print son enfant et s'enfuia en la forest, auquel elle fust contrainte de lasseté de bailler à un brigand de bois son enfant, en lui disant, "Saulve le fils de ton roy;" et ainsi échappa des mains des pillars, et depuis alla en Franche devers le roy Lois qui estoit germain à elle et à son mary . . . .; lequel roy Loys lui baillia le seigneur de la Varende, chevalier, avec certain nombre de gens d'armes pour aller avecq. Laquelle le mena pour cuider entrer en Angleterre, par le moyen d'aucuns ses amis et ses alliés qu'elle avoit oudit (*en le dit*) pays. Mais

[a] See the Introduction to vol. x. of his Edition of Monstrelet, published in the *Collection des Chroniques de France*.

[b] Buchon, Monstrelet (*Supplement*), vol. xiv. ch. xliii. p. 213. The whole passage, which contains some curious details omitted in the *pseudo*-Monstrelet, may be worth transcribing, as the chronicle is not very familiarly known. "En ce temps Loys, roy de Franche, pour fair secours à la royne d'Angleterre, envoya deux mille combattans en Angleterre, dont estoit capitaine messire Henry de Brésil [Pierre de Brezé] chevallier, seigneur de la Barende [Varennes], lequel avoit, du temps du roy Charles, totalement gouverné tout le royaume; et, disoit-on, que le roy l'y envoyoit pour tant qu'il ne l'aimoit point, adfin par adventure qu'il demourast là. Toutesfois, il sy porta si sagement au commenchement, qu'il y conquesta plusieurs places, ésquelles ils se tindrent certaine espace, attendant le secours du duc de Sombreset, lequel leur avoit promis d'amener secours de gens, et avecq ce d'amener grosse armée d'Escoche; lequel duc le trahit, car ce temps pendant, il fit tant qu'il olt sa paix au roy Edouard d'Angleterre, et se lui rendit ledit roy sa duché et ses autres terres; et par ainsi faillit aux Franchois de sa promesse, et si n'eurent, par ce moyen, nuls secours d'Escoche; et furent, par le comte de Warwicq adsiègés èsplaces qu'ils tenoient, où ils ne se fuissent point tant tenus s'ils n' euissent attendu secours. Enfin il leur fust de necessité, après qu'ils olrent mangié, par famine, plusieurs de leurs chevaux, d'eux rendre, leurs vies saulvées; et s'en retournèrent plusieurs ung petit baston en leurs mains qui estoit blanc; mais ains qu'ils partissent, estoient allés en Escoche pour avoir secours, où ils faillirent de l'avoir. Durant lequel temps y olt plusieurs escarmouches et rencontres, où il y olt plusieurs mort d'ung costel et d'autres, et aussi plusieurs Franchois prisonniers.'

ils n'y feirent rien, et n'y entrèrent point. Quant elle veit qu'elle avoit failly, elle trait à garand à l'Escluse (Sluys), qui est ung port de mer au pays de Flandres, avecq sondit fils et le seigneur de la Varende, et (laissant?) le roy Henri, au pays de Galles, en Angleterre, en une moult forte place; de l'Escluse elle vint avecq sondit fils et le seigneur de la Varende à Bruges auquel lieu elle fut recue honorablement, &c.

This, I suppose, is the earliest extant version of the French story. The conclusion of it induces some perplexity, for, on the one hand, it is somewhat difficult to see why the same chronicler who in his preceding book had stated at some length and with accuracy, "as one having knowledge," the fact of Margaret's visit to Louis, and subsequent expedition with de Brezé, should revert to these incidents and give them again less completely and less correctly; while, on the other hand, I can hardly believe that, between her leaving England in 1463 and her landing at Sluys, Margaret could have visited Louis a second time, and could have made, under his auspices, an abortive attempt at a new landing in England.

Be this as it may be, it leaves unattacked my position that Queen Margaret did not return to England after April 1463.

Du Clercq, moreover, has no notion of the adventure happening after Hexham. He knew of that battle, and mentions it with the exact date at the beginning of his tenth chapter of this book; besides, he distinctly says that afterwards, *depuis*, the Queen went off to France, and, if we reject the idea of a second and elsewhere unrecorded visit to Louis XI., the adventure of the robber should have taken place before April 1462, the date of her first, and as it would seem her only, visit to him.

The third volume or book of Monstrelet follows Du Clercq in relating the incident in juxtaposition with events of 1463, unconnected with England, and begins thus.[a]

"Icy convient bien dire l'adventure que la Royne d'Angleterre eust à celle fois avec le seigneur de Varenne."

The scene is laid in a forest in England, and the story is told down to "Sauve le fils de ton Roy." It proceeds, "Le brigant le print tout voulontiers et s'en allèrent, tellement que tost après ils vindrent par mer à l'Escluse et de l'Escluse s'en alla à Bruges," where she is honourably received by the Duke of Burgundy, referring, as Du Clercq does, to the known events of the Queen's second voyage in 1463.

[a] Monstrelet, ed. 1595, iii. 96.

The tale thus given by the *pseudo*-Monstrelet then concludes by repeating the statement of Du Clercq, that meanwhile her husband, the King Henry, was in Wales in one of the strongest places in England. The continuator of Monstrelet, it will be observed, leaves out the puzzling reference to the visit to King Louis. But he follows Du Clercq in his mention of Hexham field in May 1464.

The account in the third volume of Monstrelet in Johnes's translation[a] follows the French version lastly abstracted, with the remarkable divergence that the forest is placed in Hainault,[b] and the Queen's address to the brigand is altered to suit the locality, for she says, "Save the son of *a* King," not of *your* King, which would be nonsense unless the robber was an Englishman.

The statement in the two French chronicles that Henry was at the time of the adventure in his castle in Wales, cannot, I think, be true, if it took place immediately before either voyage, in April 1462, that is, or in April 1463: for on the former occasion Henry seems almost certainly to have been in Scotland, and in 1463 the Queen, as before noticed, really sailed to Sluys from Bamborough, quite openly and with a large retinue, and her royal spouse was most likely in that fortress at the time.

He was certainly there in December 1463, when letters of protection for William Burgh were issued under his signet, and dated at Bamborough on the eighth of that month, in the forty-second year of his reign,[c] and I see no good reason for his having meanwhile withdrawn himself into Wales.

The fact is, that the greater part of Miss Strickland's amplifications of the story—for brevity's sake I have omitted a good many of them—come from a life of Queen Margaret, written in the last century by the Abbé Prévost, best known as the author of *Manon l'Escaut*.

This biography is indeed a mere historical romance, in which an imaginary "Miladi Nevill" plays a great part. She is supposed to be a sister of the king-maker, but certainly was no credit to the family, her manners being of the most free, and her virtue of the most easy sort. In her company another character appears, equally unknown to history, except, indeed, to that branch of it which

[a] Johnes's Monstrelet, ed. 1840, ii. 288.

[b] Miss Strickland seems to have used Johnes's translation, for she observes, no doubt correctly, that Hainault must be a blunder of a copyist for England. It is, I think, quite impossible that the Queen either on her first or her second voyage, could have got into Hainault at all.

[c] The original letters are in the possession of Sir John Lawson of Burgh, Bart. and will be found printed in the *Archæologia*, XLVII. p. 190.

is valued only in the nursery. "La Dame Trott" is certainly a singular apparition among the nobles and gentles of the English court.

The Abbé's account of the adventure, intercalated with a brief and fairly accurate narration of Henry VI.'s capture and carrying off to London, occupies no less than 26 octavo pages. It is amusing enough, but I have no intention of transcribing it.[a] He has borrowed the false date from Rapin, the skeleton of the adventure from "Monstrelet," and for all the detail he has drawn upon a most fertile imagination.

To his book, however, Miss Strickland is indebted for the antecedents of the robber (his gigantic stature seems to be her own invention), the charity of his wife, the passage to Kirkcudbright, the romantic escape from Mr. Cork (a most impossible Englishman), the undignified landing "pick-a-back" at Cantyre, the name Barville assigned to the squire, and for everything else which is not in Monstrelet's or Du Clercq's brief narrative.

I have been unable to find the authority for Miss Strickland's "cave" near Hexham, where the robber dwelt. Prévost mentions the bandit's dwelling, but does not call it a cave.

Miss Strickland says that there is a local legend which assigns a cave in that neighbourhood as the scene of the adventure, and that no one who has minutely studied the antiquities of the town can doubt the fact, *i.e.* the truth of the legend, and gives a description of the so-called Queen Margaret's Cave.

The editors of the first part of vol. i. of Mr. Hodgson's *History of Northumberland* briefly notice (p. 328), in a very good *resumé* of the events so far as they relate to Northumberland, the existence of such a legend, but give no reference to any book for it, nor do I happen to have found any work giving the particulars. However circumstantial, it can have little historical value.

It is noteworthy that William of Wyrcestre (p. 481) says, that after the battle of Northampton, so far back as 1460, Queen Margaret with her son fled from Eccleshall towards Chester, and was nearly taken by one John Cleyer, a retainer of Lord Stanley, and was robbed of all her goods and jewels by her own servants; that she nevertheless got off in safety with her son to her castle, no doubt Harlech Castle. Gregory also (p. 208) narrates that, upon the Duke of York's entry into London (not long after the battle of Northampton), and laying claim to her Crown, Margaret "voydyde unto Walys, but she was met with be syde the Castelle of Malepas (in Cheshire, some thirty miles W.N.W. of Eccleshall), and a servand of hyr owne that she hadde made bothe yeman and gentylman, and aftyr

[a] *Œuvres choisies de l'Abbé Prévost.* Amsterdam, 1784, tome xiv. pp. 207—233.

apoynted for to be in office with hyr sone the prynce, spoylyde hyr and robbyde hyr, and put hyr soo in dowt of hyr lyffe and sonys lyffe also. And thenn she com to the Castelle of Hardelowe in Walys," &c.

Now it is quite possible that the Queen may have "fallen among thieves" more than once in her eventful career, but I am not indisposed to believe that there was but one such adventure, and that, in the incident recorded by Wyrcestre and Gregory, we have the origin of the French, or rather Flemish, story, the details of which may however be quite true.[a]

I see no proof that Henry ever took shelter at Harlech, but the assertion in the two Flemish books that at the time of the adventure Henry was in a strong Welsh castle may well be a mistake grounded on the fact that the Queen after the robbery escaped thither.

Before leaving the robber story and concluding this paper, I will briefly examine the narratives of Rapin, Hume, Lingard, and Sharon Turner, as to these transactions.

Rapin's account is inexact. After mentioning Queen Margaret's descents on the northern coast in 1462, he comes immediately to the advance of Lord Montagu and the battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham, which he treats but very briefly as the end of the same campaign. Having erroneously made Margaret advance into Northumberland after the storm at sea and retreat to Berwick, he supposes her to have been at Hexham and to have shared with her son the flight of Henry into Scotland.[b] Having entirely omitted any mention of the first recapture of the castles, he rightly states that Warwick recovered them after Hexham, but wrongly notices the partial relief of Alnwick by the Scots as an incident of the final recapture.

Coming presently to Henry's being taken prisoner and confined in the Tower of London,[c] he tells the adventure of the robber. He infers from it that

[a] Yet again, in the contemporary chronicle of Adrien de But (Belgian *Doc. Inédits.* 1870, p. 454), there is this brief notice of a robbery in connection with Margaret's second voyage in 1463:—

"Margarita regina Angliæ cum Edwardo parvulo filio, venit at curiam Ducis Philippi, qui fecit eam deduci ad Lotharingiam, sed in viâ deprædata fuit."

This seems rather to mean that it was on the journey to Lorraine that she was waylaid, and not before arrival at the ducal court. Can the adventure, after all, have happened in Hainault, as Mr. Johnes so unaccountably states? That province is not exactly out of the road from Bruges to Verdun.

[b] Rapin has been followed without suspicion by the compilers of *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, vii. 149, ed. 1818.

[c] It is by no means clear whether he intends to place this event in 1463 or 1464; the real date being 1465.

Margaret had separated from her husband (whom rightly or wrongly he brings from Edinburgh into England immediately before his capture) and resolved also to hide in England until she could escape, observing that, if the adventure be true, it must have occurred about this time.

It need hardly be repeated that, although Margaret may possibly have been in Scotland at some time in 1463, she had departed for the Continent long before Hexham field.

As for Hume, he makes Louis XI. send de Brezé on an independent expedition resulting merely in the capture of Alnwick in 1462, prior to Margaret's visit to him. As the result of that visit and the promise to surrender Calais, he says that Louis was induced, as in 1464, "to send along with her a body of 2,000 men-at-arms, which enabled her to take the field and to make an inroad into England. Though reinforced by a numerous train of adventurers from Scotland and by many partisans of the family of Lancaster, she received a check at Hedgley Moor from Lord Montague, &c." and then naturally Hexham follows.

The utter incorrectness of all this, except that Hume has the right date for the two battles, needs, it is to be hoped, no further exposure.

The robber adventure is told as occurring to the Queen after her supposed defeat at Hexham, while the *pseudo* Monstrelet is followed in his account of her subsequent concealment and escape to her father's court.

Lingard[a] states the sequence of events accurately, though somewhat imperfectly, but his dates of years in which the events occurred are wrong.

He passes over the whole 1462 as if there was nothing to record, and comes to 1463. He refers to this year the whole of the events of 1462, month by month, beginning with Margaret's first voyage in April down to the retaking of Alnwick, dated in the margin Jan. 5, that is to say, January 5, 1464.[b] But he is not consistent with himself, for at the top of the page, immediately over "Jan. 5," he has retained the running date 1463, giving at first sight an appearance of accuracy.

[a] Page 145, *seqq.* 5th ed. 1849.

[b] The date of the Queen's landing in Bretagne is given in the margin as "1463 April 8," and as the first event of that year. This is no misprint for 1462, as is shown by the day of the month. This corresponds with Good Friday, 1463, and Lingard was evidently following William Wyrcestre, who says the landing in Brittany was on that fast-day, "Dies Parasceves," but somehow he has gone one year forward. Good Friday, 1462 (the real date) fell on April 16. Miss Strickland, p. 267, quotes Lingard for the landing in Brittany as on April 8, 1462. She has set right the year, but, failing to observe that the day of the month depended on Easter, has not altered 8 to 16.

He then tells the tale of the robber, as happening probably "in this winter campaign," and as the termination of it he gives Margaret's second voyage to Sluys. The marginal date of the month for this is "April," which, if governed by the running date 1463, would be right, but the text unmistakably brings it to April 1464. On the next page the marginal date 1464 first occurs, and correctly, in conjunction with April 25, as the date of the battle of Hedgeley Moor.

Mr. Sharon Turner's account of this passage of history is very clear and painstaking. Having adopted the public records and the contemporary chronicles as his chief authorities, he has avoided many of the mistakes or confused statements of other writers. He has however missed the second capture of the three castles by the Lancastrians.

At p. 259 of his third volume, second edition, he has the following footnote as to the robber-story:

> The incidents mentioned but not dated by Monstrelet, of the Queen's being plundered by robbers in her flight in a forest (&c. &c.), are usually connected with the battle of Hexham. But they rather suit the period mentioned before p. 256 (that is, the period before the Queen's second voyage). Monstrelet adds, that Henry at this time entered into Wales. Johnes has inserted "the forest of Hainault" in his translation, but the French of my edition of Monstrelet is "une forest en Angleterre."

Mr. Turner, whose work I did not look at until this paper was nearly complete, has here anticipated some of my remarks.

He agrees with me in adopting William of Worcester's (and Wassebourg's) statement that Margaret, after finding her way to Lorraine, "waited the issue of the course of things," and gives no hint of her return in the following year.

XVII.—*Sir John Daunce's Accounts of Money received from the Treasurer of the King's Chamber temp. Henry VIII. Communicated by* Charles Trice Martin, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read April 3, 1879, and February 12, 1880.

The Roll of Accounts, which is here printed in full, is the property of Colonel Smyth of Welwyn, and was sent to the Society for exhibition by the Right Rev. the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham, D.D., F.S.A. There are, in fact, two separate rolls, measuring in length, the first six feet six inches, the second twelve feet. Each roll is composed of sheets of paper sewn together, and the reason for the two being now joined is, that they were presented for audit as one account; and the receipt for the balance due to the king is still appended to them.

Both rolls are in fairly good condition and quite legible. The beginning of the longer one is slightly mutilated, as it is on the outside when rolled up, and it has been repaired in recent times.

The name of Sir John Daunce, the person who renders the account, constantly occurs among the papers of the reign of Henry VIII., almost invariably in connection with money matters. In the first year of the reign he held the office of Receiver-General of the Lands of Minors, which he surrendered to Wolsey in 1518. In 1511 he was Collector of the Petty Customs in the Port of London. A short time after he was appointed one of the General Surveyors of Crown Lands —an important place, for all leases were granted by advice of him and his colleagues. He was also Steward of the two crown manors of Kennington, Surrey, and Donington, Berks, Collector of the Subsidy for Middlesex, and Chief Butler of England.

Large sums of money must have passed through his hands in connection with these offices, but this roll does not refer to his official receipts, but to money paid to him by the treasurer of the king's chamber expressly to be expended on

the king's behalf. There are extant several warrants to him from the king, Cardinal Wolsey, and others, authorising the payment of sums of money for specified objects.

There is not much to be said about his personal history. He accompanied the king on his campaign in France in 1513, and was knighted by him in the church at Tournay, after the singing of *Te Deum*, on the day that town was surrendered. At various times he sat on the commission of the peace for the counties of Middlesex, Berks and Oxford, and Buckingham. In 1515 he was sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, and knight of the shire for Oxfordshire in the Parliament of 1529.

He was also present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and at the subsequent interview between Henry VIII. and Charles V. he undertook the task of assigning the lodgings for the Emperor's suite when he visited the English king at Calais.

In the following year (1521) he sat upon the trial of the Duke of Buckingham for treason, and, after the duke's execution, was one of the commissioners for viewing his property. He performed a similar duty after the fall of the cardinal.

In 1526 he, with other aldermen and citizens of London, drew up a report[a] upon the value of the coins then current, proposing the issue of a new coin called a George noble, of the value of 6*s.* 8*d.*

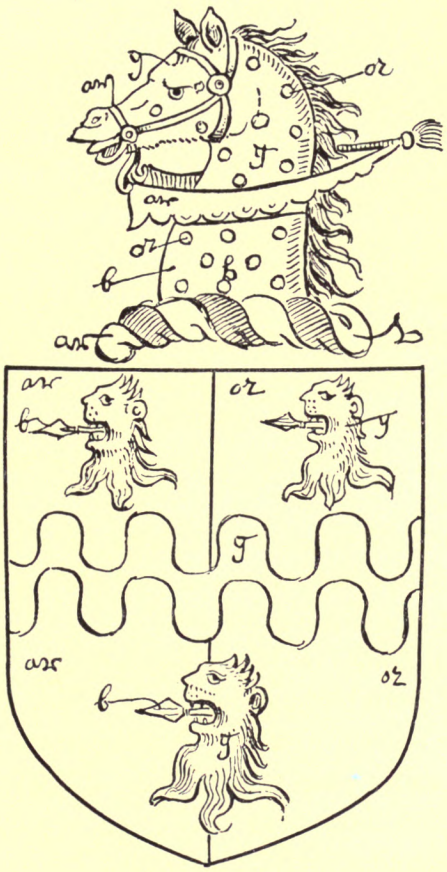
Sir John possessed a house in Mark Lane, but I think resided principally either at the Court or in Buckinghamshire. In 1528, Humfrey Monmouth, the friend and patron of the martyr William Tyndale, was examined at his house by Sir Thomas More. The same year the Bishop of Bayonne, the French ambassador, desired to have the house to reside in, saying that it had not been inhabited for three years, and that it was spoilt by pigeons having built their nests in it.

His property in Buckinghamshire, including the lands of the Benedictine nunnery of Meuresley, or St. Margaret's Ivinghoe, granted to him after its dissolution, in 1538,[b] will be found described in the inquisition taken after his death, which happened on December 7, 1545.[c]

In a MS.[d] by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, Daunce's arms and crest are figured as here shown, and may be blazoned thus:—Arms, Per pale argent and or, a fesse wavy gules between three lions' heads erased, two

[a] *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII.* iv. 2595.
[b] Pat. 29 Hen. VIII. p. 5, m. 26.
[c] Inq. p. m. 38 Hen. VIII. No. 4.
[d] Claudius C. III. f. 92.

and one, of the last, each with a spear-head issuing from the mouth azure:— Crest, On a wreath argent and vert, a horse's head per fesse gules and azure both bezantée, bridled argent.



Sir John Daunce.

For the following account of his tomb I am indebted to my friend Mr. W. H. Richardson, F.S.A.

"In the south (chancel) aisle of the parish church of St. Michael, Blewbury, Berks, placed longitudinally against the wall, is a large moulded slab of Purbeck marble, raised some few inches above the floor, bearing the full-length figures, in brass, of Sir John Daunce, in armour, and wearing thereupon a surcoat of his arms; and of his wife, Dame Alice Daunce, habited in a long mantle, the dexter side displaying the arms of Daunce, and the sinister the quartered

coats of Latton, Percy, Estbury, and Sycheville. Beneath is the following inscription:—

Of your charity pray for the soll of Dame Alice Daunce, dowghter of Thomas Latton, gentl. late the wife of S^r^ John Daunee, Knight, Councellor and Surveyour-Generall unto our Soveraigne Lord King Henry the Eight, whyche departed the 27 day of August in the yere of our Lord God 1523, on whos soll Ihu have mercy.

"Under this epitaph are the figures of five sons and two daughters, and around are the shields of Daunce, Latton, Percy, and Sycheville.

"This tomb, when Ashmole made his notes on this church (Bibl. Bodl. 850, ff. 185, 186), stood 'at the south side of the midle isle,' and is simply described as 'a raised monument.' It has every appearance of having, at some time or other, formed the top of an altar-tomb.

"Dame Alice Daunce was apparently the eldest daughter of Thomas Latton, of Chilton and Upton, Berks, and of Johanna his wife, daughter of John Fox. He died 8th April, 1503."[a]

In the sixteenth century the king held the revenues of the state as his personal property, just as a nobleman did his rents; so that, in the accounts of that period, the expense of national objects is mixed up with the private expenditure of the sovereign in a way which appears very strange to modern ideas.

The earlier of the two rolls commences with a statement that Daunce has received from Sir John Heron, treasurer of the king's chamber, between 21 July, 1515, and 6 March, 1517, the sum of 7,700*l.*

Then follows the expenditure, of which the first heading is, "Provision and Stuff for the Wars." The items include cables and anchors, a gun called "the Columbine," purchased at Fontarabia by one Thomas Badcock, who resided for many years in Spain, and corresponded with Cardinal Wolsey and his successor Cromwell; iron gunshot; making bows and scouring and making up armour. The total is 3,111*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.*

There is in the Public Record Office[b] an account sent by Badcock for the casting of a culverin at Fontarabia in 1518. Badcock's account includes house-rent; bread and wine and fruit for the workmen, and also for women who dug the ground where the gun was cast, carried fuel, &c.; wax to make the king's arms

[a] Cf. Harl. 1139, f. 124, *et alia*. The Daunce or Dauntsey family are described as of Lavington, Wilts.

[b] *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII.* ii. 4108.

and other conceits upon the gun; freight to London and other expenses; amounting in all to 228 ducats—about 51*l.* The mere cost of casting the gun appears from the receipt of the founder to have been 90 ducats for 18 quintals of copper, and 60 ducats for the making. The founder adds to the receipt a passage in Spanish, of which this is the translation: "I declare that I would not have made the said culverin for any one else for 200 ducats of gold, but I am content to have made it for you (*i.e.* Badcock) for the said 60 ducats, for the friendship I have for you, and for the great honour and benefit I daily receive from your worship, and in order that the Most Serene King of England may see the work of my hand."

There was no open war during the time this account covers, that is, from July 1515 to October 1517, but the king was keeping a fleet at sea, and had to provide for the garrisons at Calais and Tournay, besides those on the Scotch border, where a good deal of fighting was always going on.

The next heading is "Charges of officers at arms sent into divers places, and rewards to divers persons." The travelling allowance to a king at arms at this period was 6*s.* or 6*s.* 8*d.* a day, and to a herald 4*s.*

Thomas Benolte was a foreigner who had belonged to the College of Arms in the reign of Henry VII. as Rougecroix Pursuivant and Windsor Herald, and was promoted in 1515 to be Clarencieux King at Arms. Several of his visitations of the southern counties are now among the Harleian MSS.

He was very frequently employed in foreign countries, and is here stated to have been sent to France in August, 1515, where Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Dr. Nicholas West, Dean of Windsor, and Sir Richard Wingfield were acting as ambassadors, though there does not happen to be any reference to this journey of his in their despatches.

The death of Louis XII. King of France, on New Year's Day, 1515, a few months after his marriage with the Princess Mary, had destroyed the hopes of the party in England who desired to influence continental affairs for their own ends by means of the French alliance. The new King Francis I., although he formally renewed the previous treaties with England, had just started, in July, 1515, on his expedition to conquer the duchy of Milan, and it was believed had an eye to the subjugation of the whole Italian peninsula. This the King of England was endeavouring to prevent, without coming to an open rupture.

The English ambassadors had been sent, first to congratulate Francis on his accession, and then to arrange for the return to England of Mary, the Dowager

French Queen, and settle her money matters, which King Henry her brother apparently considered the most important part of the negotiations. Suffolk, in sending Wolsey the account, says it is past his learning, and he cannot tell whether she has her right or no. The English ambassadors succeeded however in carrying off the "Mirror of Naples," a valuable diamond, worth 30,000 crowns, which the French asserted was an heirloom of the Queens of France, and other jewels, worth 10,000 more.

The story of the secret marriage of the duke and the French Queen is too well known to need repeating here, but it may not be out of place to state the arrangements made by Henry VIII. with the newly married couple. They were bound to pay to the king 4000*l.* a year of her dower; to give up all the plate and jewels which the late French King had; and also 200,000 crowns which Francis was bound to pay her "in full contentation of her dote"; and there is no doubt that these sums were rigorously exacted.

The next entry is for posts sent to St. Malo to view the French and Scotch ships there. These were the ships prepared by the Duke of Albany to convey him into Scotland.

Since the death of James IV. on Flodden Field, his widow, Margaret, sister of the English king, had married Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, a man who does not seem to have had much to recommend him except his personal appearance. This match, and the favour shown by the queen to her husband's family, contributed to destroy what little influence she possessed in the kingdom. In the beginning of the year 1515 she was besieged in Stirling Castle by the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Prior of St. Andrews. Meanwhile, the Duke of Albany, the only man who had much authority in Scotland, was in France, but was expected to appear shortly in Scotland to act as mediator. Margaret feared that he would take away the young king her son and govern in his name, or perhaps even make himself king. On this account the King of England was anxious to keep the duke in France, or, better still, to intercept him. Suffolk and his colleagues endeavoured to persuade the French to stop him. Francis personally refused to do so, having, as he said, promised to permit him to go. His ministers, more cautious than their master, offered to detain him for three months if Henry would refrain from assisting the queen. The English ambassadors refused this overture on the ground of want of powers, and threatened that, if Francis sent Albany, the king would send another as big as he to help the queen.

Meanwhile ships were kept at sea to try and intercept the French and Scotch

fleet, under the command of Christopher Coo, a well-known sea captain, but not a great favourite with the king, who thought that "he was more in boasting than any good feat." While he was cruising on the north coast, Coo writes that all the Scotch ships are gone to fetch the Lord Protector, "and, if he be so stronge as they saye he his, he wyll come, mawgre all the shippes now beynge in the see, ye and ther war iij. tymez so many more, for hymself comyth in the *Grett Michell*, a shippe as moche as the *Soveraign* and the *Margarett*, and another shippe callyd the *Jamys*, shippes of ij. c. the least."[a] Whether Albany evaded Coo, or whether Coo was afraid to stop him, I do not know, but the duke arrived in Scotland some time in May, 1515. At the Parliament in July a sword was borne before the duke by the Earl of Arran, and he was crowned Protector till the young king attained the age of eighteen. Certain lords were named by the Parliament to have charge of the young king, and they were sent to the queen at Stirling for her to select three of them. The interview is thus narrated by Lord Dacre, Warden of the English Marches, in a letter to the Council:—

> The same duke be thadvice of his counsaile commoned in the Parliament house who shuld haif the reull and keping of the younge king and his broder, and therupon appointed viij lordes and send iiij of them to the Quene bidding hir chose whilk thre of the same lordes she pleased to haif the keping of them. And whan as she herd tell of ther commyng, she toke the younge king in hir haunde, and the nurs haifing the prince his broder in hir arme within the irne yates thenne beyng open. And with the quene beyng therle of Angusse hir husbande, and there servauntes, but a few nombre. And whan as she sawe the lordes within thre yerdes of the yates, she bad them staunde and demanded the cause of ther commyng, and what was ther message. And then they shewed they comme fro the duke and governour, and that it was decreed by the parliament that they shuld come to aske delyverance of the king and his broder. And then she caused the porteoles be lattyn down, and made aunsuer sayng that the castell was hir owne feoffament yeven to hir by the king hir late husbande with other parcelles, and that hir said late husbande had made hir protectrix and yeven hir auctorite to haif the keping and governaunce of hir saide children. Wherfor she couthe in noo wise deliver them to any personne. Notheless she desired respit of vj. dayes to gif hir furthir aunsuer. And thenne therle of Anguysshe saide and shewed oppinly it was his woll and mynde that the king and his broder shulde be delyvered according to the deere of parliament, and therupon desired to have oon instrument raised for fere of lesing his lyfe and laundes.[b]

Five days after the queen offered to give up the children to the charge of her husband and three lords appointed by herself; but Albany was not contented with this. Dacre says, in the same letter from which the above passage is taken,

[a] Calig. B. vi. 77. [b] Calig. B. ii. 341.

"For undoubted yf the younge king and his broder come in the duke's haundes, I am credably enformed they wolbe distroyed and murdred, whiche were great pitie and losse;" [a] and this, though only a report, explains the queen's refusal. Attempts were made, unsuccessfully, to starve her out of Stirling. If the castle were attacked, she expressed her determination "that in caace the duke or any other lordes wol make garriable werr ayeinst the castell, that the quene shal sett the younge king upon the walles in the sight of all personnes, crowned and the ceptur in his haunde. Soo that it shalbe manifestly knowen to every personne that the werr shalbe made ageinst the kinges owne personne." [b] Even this was in vain, for the Duke of Albany "accompayned with the mooste parte of all the temporall lordes and ther servauntes to the nombre of vij.m. personnes, rode and come to Striveling on Setterday the iiijth daie (of Aug.), where as George Dowglas, therle Anguysshe broder, and all the other men that were in the said castell, fledd furthe of it for fere of the proclamacions made be the duke and for fere of losing ther lyves, when as they herd tell of Mons and other great gonnys that were carted and commen nighe the castell, and soo the quene was left desolate without comforte. Wherupon she caused the king her sonne deliver the keys to the duke, desiring hym of favoure to the king and his broder with therle Anguysshe hir housebande, whereunto he aunsuered that he wold doo for the king, his broder and hir, but he wolde not daye with noo traytours." [c] The next few weeks are occupied by complaints from Margaret of the treatment she suffers, viz.: that her property is withheld and her friends oppressed. Some of her letters express satisfaction with Albany's behaviour, and were evidently written to order. They did not, however, deceive any one in England, for previously Margaret had taken the precaution of writing to her brother in the following words:—

> And giff my party adversare counterfettes ony letteris in my name, or giff thai compell me to write to you for concord, the subscripcion salbe bott thus:
>
> MARGARET R. and na mare.[d]

Meanwhile Dacre, on behalf of the King of England, was urging her to cross the border, as it was impossible to send troops to assist her as she wished. Finally it was arranged that she should pretend to be sick—she was indeed near her confinement—and go with her husband to Linlithgow. After being there a day or two she should leave, with only her husband and two or three servants,

[a] Calig. B. II. 342 b.
[b] Dacre to Wolsey, 4 Aug. 1515. P. R. O.
[c] Calig. B. II. 369.
[d] Calig. B. I. 164.

while Lord Home, who had been for some time in communication with Dacre, would meet her a few miles from the town. If the appointment fail, he is to burn some town of Albany's, to hide the real motive of his expedition, and wait for another night. In the beginning of October the escape was satisfactorily effected. Margaret arrived safely at Harbottle, and on October 10 writes as follows to the Duke of Albany:—

Cousin, I hertely commende me unto youe. And where I have bene enforced for fere and dangier of my life, many thinges considred, to departe furth of the Realme of Scotland into this the Realme of England, so it is that by the grace of Almighty God I am nowe delivered and have a cristen sowle, beyng a yong lady, desiryng youe in Goddes name, and for your honour as right and good justice requireth, that ye suffre me as tutrix of the yong king and prince my tendre childre, to have the hole rule and governaunce, as well of them as of the said realme of Scotlande, accordyng to the laste will and testament of my late spouse and husbande, the late King of Scotlande, whome Criste for his passion pardon, approved and confermed by the Popes holynes according as his said holynes signifieth unto youe and exorteth youe to do as nowe I move and require youe. And that it may like youe to ascerteyne me how ye be mynded to do in that behalve.[a]

As the council of Scotland refused this request, she determined not to return. Lord Dacre found her presence at Harbottle Castle "uneasfull and costelye by occasion of farre cariage of everything," and decided to move her to Morpeth "after her grace have sought the churche and be purified,"[b] where she remained till she was strong enough to travel southwards.

The cost of her conveyance is given in full in the roll, including some clothes sent by her brother, for her and her husband, by Sir Christopher Garneys, who gives an account, in a letter to his master, of the pleasure they afforded to the lady. He says that the queen left Harbottle on 16th November, and came to Morpeth. She was carried by Dacre's servants in a litter, not being strong enough to bear the jolting of horses. Here Garneys had audience of her, and presented her with the stuff sent by the king, and his credence. "Her grace was borne in a chayer out of her bedechambre into the greate chambre to thentent that her grace wolde se all syche stuff as your highnes had sent her by me, to be layed abrode, and whan hyr grace had sene every thynge layed aparte, hir grace commaunded the Lorde Chamberleyn of Scotland for to come into the said chambre, and all the gentylmen of Scotland that wer ther with hym to se the great present

[a] From a contemporary copy in Calig. B. vi. 119.

[b] Calig. B. vi. 112.

that your hyghnes had sent unto her grace, saynge thes wordes, 'Lo, my Lorde, here ye may se that the kyng, my brother, haith not forgoten me, and that he wold not I shuld dye for lak of clothys.'"

Sir Christopher goes on to deseribe Dacre's castle of Morpeth, and the company who were keeping Christmas there. He never saw a baron's house better trimmed in his life, "the hangynges of the hall and chambyrs with the newest devyse of tappestry, with all other maner thynges therunto belongying, his cupborde all of gylt plate, with a great cup of fyne gold with the cup of assay, and all the lordes borde with the bordes end served all with sylver vessel lackyng no maner of gode vytell and wylde foule to put in them, that can be gotyn for mony." Of the queen he says: "I thynk her oon of the lowest brought ladyes with hir great payn of syknes, that I have sene, and scape. Her grace haith suche a payn in her right legge that this iij. wykes she may not endure to syt up whyle hir bed is a making, and whan her grace is removed it wold petye ony mannys hert to here the shrykes and cryes that her grace geveth." She is, however, very fond of her clothes. She has caused the gown cloth of cloth of gold, and the gown cloth of 'tynsen,' sent by the king, to be made up, and likes the fashion so well that she will send for them and have them held before her onee or twice a day to look at. She has within the castle twenty-two gowns of cloth of gold and silks, and yet has sent to Edinburgh for more, which have come this day. She is going to have in all haste a gown of purple velvet lined with cloth of gold, a gown of right crimson velvet furred with ermine, three more gowns, and three satin kirtles. In five or six days she has had no other mind than to look at her apparel.[a]

She remained in the north till the following year, 1516, and in May eame to London. As Grafton's Chronicle says:

> The king, like a naturall brother, sent for her and her husband to come to his court for their solace. For the which kindnesse the erle humbly thanked the king, and promysed to geve his attendaunce on the queene his wife to the court; whereupon the king sent Wm. Blacknal, esquier, clerke of the spieery, with silver vessel, plate, and other thinges necessary for the conveyaunce of her, and sent to her all maner of officers for her estate convenient. And when she was redy to depart, she asked for her husband, but he was departed into Scotland and left her alone, nothing remembring his promise, which sodain departing much made her to muse. Howbeit the Lords of England greatly encouraged her to kepe her promise with the king her brother. And so after sne was somewhat appeased, she set forward, and in every towne she was well received, and so on the third day of May she made her entry into London, ridyng on a whyte palfray (which the

[a] *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII.* ii. 1350.

Queene of England had sent to her), behynd Sir Thos. Par, richely beseene, and with great companie of lordes and ladies. Shee rode through the citie to Baynardes Castell, and from thence she was conveyed to Grenewich, and there receyved joyously of the king, the queene, the French queene, her sister, and highly was she feasted. And when the king heard that the Erle of Angus her husband was departed, he sayd it was done like a Scot. This queene sometyme was at the court, and sometime at Baynardes Castell, and so she continued in England all this yere. [a]

The name of William Blacknall, who is mentioned in the above extract, occurs further on in the roll as receiving 100*l.* for the queen's household.

She stayed in England about a year, and on the 18th May, 1517, "the Queene of Scottes, which had bene at the Court and at Baynard's Castell a whole yere at the kinges charge, and was richly appoynted of all thinges mete to her estate, both of jewels, plate, tapistry, arras, coyne, horses, and all other thinges, of the kinges gift and liberalitie, departed out of London towarde Scotlande wyth great riches, albeit she came into England with much povertie; and she entred into Scotland the xiij day of June, whom her husband receyved at Barwick. But the Englishmen smally him regarded. All her charges within the realme, commyng to the Court and returnyng, were of the kinges pursse." [b]

Among the payments to officers of arms there is one to Thomas Tonge, otherwise called York Herald, for conveyance of Baltazar, the pope's orator, from York to London.

This Baltazar was a Scotchman, his surname being Stewart, Latinized as Stuardus or Tuerdus. In fact, he was related to the royal family, for the Duke of Albany speaks of him as a kinsman. He had been secretary to Pope Julius II., and had been sent about a twelvemonth before this, by Leo X., to negotiate a peace between England and Scotland, for the sake of the projected expedition against the Turks. On 4th May, 1515, he writes to Wolsey, then Archbishop of York, asking that a herald may be sent to meet him at Berwick; and it was in answer to this letter that Tonge was sent. They had arrived in London by August, and Henry made him a present of 40*l.*, which did not prevent him from writing to the pope in very disrespectful terms of the king, saying that he was a young fellow who cared for nothing but women and hunting, and for spending his father's savings.

There are also payments to Windsor herald, sent to receive the oath of Ferdinand, King of Arragon, to a treaty between him and Henry VIII. for

[a] Grafton, ii. 288.

[b] Grafton, ii. 294.

commerce and mutual defence, which is printed in Rymer.[a] The oath was taken by Ferdinand on December 11, 1515. Also to John Pounde, Somerset Herald, for conveying the ambassadors of the Prince of Castile, afterwards Charles V., to Calais. These were William de Croy, Lord Chievres, and others, who came to conclude a mercantile treaty with England in March, 1516. There is also a reward of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to the king-of-arms of the Prince of Castile. This is Toison d'Or. I can find nothing about his being in England at this time, but he perhaps accompanied the ambassadors, or came to receive Henry's oath to the same treaty.

One other entry in this portion of the account is rather puzzling, unless there is some mistake in the way it is expressed—"To a messenger that came to the king's grace from Ric. de la Pole, 26*s.* 8*d.*"

De la Pole, or Blanche Rose, as he was called, was the brother of the last Earl of Suffolk, who had been beheaded in 1513, and was living chiefly at Metz, trying to induce foreign powers to lend him troops to invade England. Both the kings of France and Denmark promised to help him, and Henry, though not really alarmed for the safety of his crown, was very anxious to get him out of the way. Plots were on foot for his assassination, and some of his servants were betraying him. There are several letters from one of these spies, named Alamire, signed for secresy with the musical notes *la mi re*. This reward may have been to him; but it is almost impossible that he could have been sent by De la Pole, as the sentence seems to imply.

Some curious particulars as to Blanche Rose's residence in Metz—how he lost two horse-races, and got into trouble about a goldsmith's wife, will be found in the journal of Philip von Vigneulles, a burgher of Metz, printed in vol. xxiv. of the Proceedings of the "Literärisches Vereins" of Stuttgart. There is some account of this volume in the preface to the Calendar of Henry VIII.'s Papers, vol. iii.

The "Cardynall of Sedumensis," whose journey to Brabant was paid for by the king, is generally known in English history as Cardinal Sion. His personal name was Matthew Scheiner, and he was the son of poor parents living at Mülhebach in Valais, and was educated at Sion and Zurich. Like other poor scholars, he was in the habit of singing hymns in public for money, and, while thus engaged, an old man among the audience called him and asked him his name and place of birth. After hearing the lad's answer, he said to those near

[a] *Fœdera*, xiii. 520.

him, "This boy will one day be our bishop and our prince," which saying, the narrator adds, entered deep into the mind of the boy and caused him to apply himself with greater diligence to his studies.

He was successively curé of a small village in Valais, canon, and bishop of Sion, and in 1511 was created cardinal by Pope Julius II. in gratitude for his opposition to Lewis XII. He was a man of great energy,[a] and considerable authority among the Swiss, which he always exerted against the French. It was a sermon preached by him at Milan that excited the Swiss to attack the army of Francis I. at Marignano, where they learnt to their surprise, after two days' fighting, that French chivalry was too strong even for the hardy mountaineers, who called themselves the "tamers of princes."

The visit to England referred to here was for the purpose of negotiating a treaty between England, the Emperor Maximilian, and Charles of Castile, for the defence of the Church. The treaty was concluded on 29 October, 1516, and will be found printed in Rymer.[b] Sion was specially interested in the article, settled a few days later, by which the contracting parties bound themselves to pay a pension of 30,000 florins to the Swiss. Sion also negotiated a secret agreement between Maximilian and Henry for the defence of Verona, in danger of being taken by the French and Venetians. The Cardinal had endeavoured to persuade Henry to invade France, offering 20,000 Swiss for that object, but he and Wolsey had fallen out over this project, and it had come to nothing.

The account shows that the ships that conveyed him back to Brabant were armed. His enemies the French were trying to capture him on his journey, and had offered 40,000 crowns for his delivery. They tried also to bribe the Imperial Governor of Gravelines to give him up. At his departure the king gave him a present of 3,000 ducats, and Wolsey one of 1,000 ducats, but his petition to the king for a pension and the next vacant bishopric in England was disregarded.

The voyage to Brabant was safely accomplished, and the Cardinal wrote from Berghen on the 10th of November to Wolsey to recommend the officer who had had charge of his passage for his skill and courtesy.

One incident of his sojourn here is noticed in a letter written about twenty years later, when cardinals were no more in England, and Thomas Cromwell had just issued his injunctions for the destruction of superstitious images in churches.

[a] "Homo ingeniosus, impiger, acer, facundus, strenuus et admodum theologus."—Andrew Ammonius Erasmus, 1 Nov. 1514.

[b] *Fœdera*, xiii. 556.

The letter is from William Goldwell to Cromwell, concerning the writing on a table placed near the crucifix at Esshetisford (Ashford) Church, and continues as follows:—

> Also I perceve that ther is in many churches the image, as they call it, of Our Lady of Pitie, havyng her sonne in her armes, after he was takyn downe from the crosse. Whiche I do not perceve to be a true story be the Scripture. Yet to this images the people have muche mynde. And though of late ther ar no offerynges to suche images, I have knowen to many of them offerynges to be done, and to one suche image in one partieular churche pardon grauntid be the Cardynall of the Suches when he was in Englond in Cardynall Vulcys tyme, and then a chapell of tymber made for the seid image, and ther the pardon sett up. And after be the procurers of the same the pardon takyn away.[a]

In 1707 a book was published by John Toland, the Deistical writer, with the title, "Oratio Philippica, ad excitandos contra Galliam Britannos; maxime vero ne de Pace cum victis premature agatur: Sanctiori Anglorum Concilio exhibita, anno a Christo nato 1514. Authore Matthæo Cardinale Sedunensi. Qui Gallorum ungues non resecandos sed penitus evellendos esse voluit. Publica luce, diatriba preliminari et annotationibus donavit Johannes Tolandus. Accedit ejusdem Gallus Aretalogus, odium orbis et ludibrium." Toland states in the preface that the MS. was given to him by a friend, who found it in his library. By the friend he presumably means Robert Harley, first earl of Oxford. I have not been able to find such a MS. in the Harleian Library, or elsewhere in the British Museum, and I am inclined to think, though I am not prepared to express a positive opinion, that the speech is entirely Toland's composition, and was published merely as a political pamphlet in the shape of a historical curiosity.

Among the "Divers and Sundre Costes" (p. 18), occurs the following entry:—

> For the costes of a dinner made for the kyngs jugges and other at the sessions holden in Southwark, when Cowley, a traitor, was reigned and condempned, 100*s*.

This Cowley was an inhabitant of Tournay, which had been English property since its surrender to Henry VIII. in 1513.

In August, 1515, there had been a rebellion of the inhabitants, for which, on December 3rd., five men were executed. On the 7th one other man was hanged and racked, three others condemned to go in their shirts with halters about their

necks and be banished, and four more to be merely banished. Cowley and another, John Pakeman, the ringleaders of the mutiny, escaped to Flanders, but Pakeman was captured there, and hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tournay, while Cowley, being tried at Southwark, had probably come over to England, hoping to be safe there.

---

Here ensueth a declaracion of accompt, made by Sir John Daunce, knyght, oone of our soveraigne lorde the kynges councelours, taken and determyned by Thomas Tamworth and Guthlake Overton, auditours therunto appoynted. Aswell of all and almaner sommes of money by the seid Sir John Daunce receyved of Sir John Heron, knyght, by the name of John Heron, esquier, tresorer of our seid soveraigne lord the kynges chamber, for and towardes the expences and charges of our seid soveraigne lorde the kynges warres, and other necessarie affaires and causes of our seid soveraigne lorde. As also of the imployment, paying, expendyng, and laying owt of the same money by our seid soveraigne lord the kynges high and drade commaundement and the commaundement of his high and trusty councelour, my lorde Cardynall and Legate de Latere, at dyverse tymes, aswell concernyng the warres as for dyverse and soundre other necessarie causes hereafter specially declared. That is to sey, from the xxj. day of July, the vij$^{th}$ yere of our said soveraigne lorde unto the vij. day of October, the ix$^{th}$ yere of the same our soveraigne lord.

That is to sey—

Money receyved of Syr John Heron, knyght, by the name of John Heron, tresorer of our soveraigne lord the kynges chamber, at dyverse and soundrie tymes, by vertue of severall warrauntes to the same Sir John in that behalf directed for and towardes the premisses. That is to sey, the xxj. day of July, the vij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord—m$^{l}$.li. The first day of August the same year—vm$^{l}$.li. The xxix. day of December, the viij$^{th}$ yere of our soveraigne lord—cc. li. The xvij$^{th}$ day of January the same yere—d. li. And the vj$^{th}$ day of Marche the same yere—m$^{l}$.li. In all as by the boke of parcelles of the foreseid Sir John Daunce, apon the declaracion examyned, it may appere—vij. m$^{l}$ dcc. li.

Somme of all the receipt aforeseid—vijm$^{l}$dcc.li. (*Probatur.*)

Wherof

The seid Sir John Daunce requireth allowaunce for—

Money by hym avaunced and payed by the comaundement of our seide soveraigne lorde and his most honorable councell for dyverse soundre and manyfold causes concernyng the kynges affaires. That is to sey: For

Provisions with makyng and amendyng of stuff for the kynge our soveraigne lordes warres.

Fyrst. Payed by the seid Sir John Daunce, knyght, to Richard Gressham, of London, merchaunt, for cccclxm$^{l}$ccliij$^{xx}$xvj. lb. weight of cabulles and hawsers of hym bought and delyvered to John Hopton to our soveraigne lorde the kynges use at dyverse and soundrie J. Hopton. prices—m$^{l}$m$^{l}$dcclxj. li. xiij. s. ij. d. To William Lambert, merchaunt, for certeyn cabulles of

W. Sabyn

hym bought and delyvered to the seid John Hopton—xxj. li. x. s. To William Sabyn, for an cable and an anker delyvered to the kynges shippe, called the Soveraigne—xiij. li. vj. s. viij. d. To Thomas Badcock, of Fountraby, in Spayne, for a gonne called the Columbyn, delivered into

W. Skevyngton.

the Toure to Sir William Skevyngton, knyght, maister of the kynges ordynaunce—lviij. li. x. s. To Humfrey Walker, for sex tonne di. of gonne-shotte of iron, delyvered into the Towre to

R. Cholmeley.

George Brown, servaunt to Sir Richard Cholmeley, at c. s. a tonne—xxxij. li. x. s. To Olyver Hilton, and other bowyers of London, for makyng of m$^{l}$m$^{l}$m$^{l}$lxxiiij. bowes, delyvered to the foreseid George Browne, at viij. d. a pece makyng—cij. li. ix. s. iiij. d. To William Gurre, armorer, for skoryng, dressyng, naylyng, letheryng, bokelyng, and garbelyng of m$^{l}$m$^{l}$xlvij. complete harnes, m$^{l}$xxxvj. brestes, dcccxlv. backes, dcxl. splyntes, and dcccviij. salettes—cxxj. li. xij. s. vij. d. In all, as by the boke of parcelles of the seid Sir John Daunce apon the declaracion examyned it may appere,

m$^{l}$m$^{l}$m$^{l}$cxj.li. xj. s. ix d. (*Probatur.*)

Charges of officers at armes sent into dyverse places with rewardes yeven to dyverse persons.

Also payed to Thomas Benolt, otherwise called Clarenceux Kynge at Armes, for his diettes sent into Fraunce in August in the vij. yere of our seid soveraigne lorde by the space of cclxviij. dayes at vj. s. a day, over xxx. li. receyved of the foreseid Sir John Daunce aforehand—l. li. viij. s. To the same Thomas for the charges of xiiij. postes sent by my lorde of Suffolk and other the Kynges ambassadours in Fraunce from Pares to Seynt Malowes to view the shippes of Fraunce and Scotland, which then were redy to departe into Scotland—cxvj. s. viij. d. To Wyndesore Harald at Armes for his diettes sent into Spayn in November the seid yere by space of c. dayes at iiij. s. a daye—xx. li. To Thomas Tonge, otherwise called York, for conveyaunce of Baltazar, the Popes oratour, from York to London—lxvj. s. viij. d. To Somersett for conveyaunce of thambassadours of the Prince of Castell to Cales—liij. s. iiij. d. To the aboveseid Clarenceux, sent into Scotland in July the viij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lorde by the space of ccxiij. dayes at vj. s viij. d. a day—lxxj. li. To a messenger that came from my lorde Dacres of the North with lettres to the kynges grace—xx. s. To a messenger that came to the kynges grace from Richard de la Pole—xxvj. s. viij. d. In reward to the Secretary of the Duke of Millayn—xx. li. In reward to the Kynge of Armes with the Prince of Castell—xiij. li. vj. s. viij. d. To Avery Woodeshawe in reward for his enterteynement to serve the kynges grace in certeyne causes—vij. li. In all, as by the seid boke of parcelles afore the declaracion examyned and also by billes, bokes, and other pampelottes signed with the handes of the parties aforeseid testifiying the receipt and delyverey of the premisses it may appere,

ciiij$^{xx}$xv. li. xviij. s. (*Probatur.*)

Wages of Shippekepers in the Themys—

Also paied by the seid Sir John Daunce, knyght, to John Hopton, John Clerk, and John Rogers for the wages of dyverse and soundre maisters and maryners appoyntted to kepe the kynges shippes in the Themys and in their dockes by the space of xxix. monethes begon the xxvij day of July the vij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lorde, and endyng the vij$^{th}$ day of October th

ix$^{th}$ yere of his seid reigne, as by the seid boke of parcelles with the particuler names of the seid shippes and nombre of the seid maryners apon the declaracion examyned it may appere.

m$^{l}$cxxxix. li. xiij. s. viij. d. (*Probatur.*)

Charges of conveying the Quene of Scottes from Berwyk to London.

Also payed to John Stockyng for the preparyng trymmyng and amendyng of a close carre appoyntted to convey stuff for the Quene of the Scottes to Berwyk, with reparacions of the same carre by the wey—iiij. li. vij. s. To Sir Christofer Gernysshe, knyght, appoyntted to attende apon the seid Quene of Scottes for the costes, charges, and expences of hymselff, viij. servauntes, and ix. horses by the space of ciiij$^{xx}$xix dayes, begon the xxvj. day of September the vij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord and endyng the xiij. day of Marche then next folowyng, at x. s. a day with xx. mares yeven to hym in reward for his diligence—cxij. li. xvj. s. viij. d. To Edward Payton, gentilmen ussher of the kynges chambre for his diettes attendyng apon the seid quene by the space of xx. dayes towardes London, at x. s. a daye—c. s. Costes of a tailour and a skynner sent to Berwik to make the apparrelle of the seid quene and her husbond the Erle of Angweys—vij. li. To dyverse shepsters for makyng of iij. smockes for the seid quene and twoo shirtes for her husbond—xix. s. iiij. d. In all, as by the seid boke of parcelles upon this declaracion examyned it may appere,

cxxx. li. iij. s. (*Probatur.*)

Charges of conveying of the Cardynall of Sedumensis from Englond into Braband.

Also payed to John Hopton, capteyn in the George of Fowey, appoyntted for the conveyaunce of the Cardynall of Sedumensis from England into Braband in October the viij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord. That is to sey: For his owne wages at xviij. d. a day by the space of a moneth, a weke and v. dayes—lx. s. For the wages and vitailles of lj. maryners by the seid tyme at x. s. a man a moneth—xxxvj. li. ij. s. vj. d. For wages of ix. gonners—nil, for thei hadd fees in the Towre. For vitellyng of the seid ix. gonners by the seid tyme, after v. s. a man a moneth—lxiij. s. ix. d. For wages and vitelles of xx. maryners by the seid tyme—nil, bycause they hadd wages and vitayles for kepyng the shippes in the Themys. For xviij. dedshares[a] by the seid tyme at v. s. a moneth—vj. li. vj. s. In reward to ij. gonners—xiiij. s. iiij. d. For a hoggeshed of wyne and other fresshe acates provided for the seid cardynall—xl. s. For tonage of the seid shippe of the portage of cxxx. tonne at xij. d. a tonne by the moneth—viij. li. ij. s. vj. d. In all, as by the foreseid boke of parcelles apon the declaracion examyned it may appere,

lix. li. viij. s. j. d. (*Probatur.*)

Hire of a place for the Kynges Armory.

Also paied to Nicholas Jenyns of London, skynner, for the rent of a grett place in Toure-

[a] *Dedshares* I believe to be wages of non-existent soldiers allowed to a captain to defray his sundry expenses. *Dead pays*, on the other hand, is generally used to mean the wages of deceased soldiers fraudulently appropriated by the captain. The French equivalent, *morte paye*, is translated by Cotgrave as *deadpays*, and explained "Soldiers in ordinary pay for the guard of a fortress or frontier town during their lives"; but I doubt whether the English word bears this meaning.

strete, called the Kynges Armory, from the Fest of Seynt Michell the Archaungell the vj$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord unto the same fest the ix$^{th}$ yere of his most noble reigne by the space of three yeres, at vj. li. a yere—xviij. li. To Maister William Patenson vicare of Barkyng for his privey tithes of the seid grett place for ij. yeres ended at Ester the viiij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lorde, after the rate of xiiij. d. of the noble—xlij. s. In all, as by the seid boke of parcelles apon the declaracion examyned it may appere,

xx. li. ij. s. (*Probatur.*)

Dyverse and soundre costes, charges, and expences had abouzt the kynges affaires and causes.

Also payed by the commaundement of our seid soveraigne lorde to dyverse and soundre persones for severall causes concernyng the kynges warres and other his affaires within the tyme aboveseid. That is to sey: To Christofer Coo, capteyn of the Lezard, for certeyn provision and other necessaries spent in the seid shippe in the tyme of her beying in the North Sees—xiiij. li. xvj. s. iiij. d. To William Sabyn aswell in recompense of dyverse prises (ciiij. li.) by hym taken in tyme of warre as in recompense for vitellynge of c. men (x. li.) beyng in his shippe ij. monethes at xij. d. a man a moneth, over v. s. a man payed to hym by the Tresorer of the Warres—cxiiij. li. To William Ellerker, capteyn of the Mary James, in the North Sees in July the vj$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lorde, for the vitaylyng of ciiij$^{xx}$xij. souldiours by the space of vj. wekes and v. dayes at xviij. d. a man a weke, over xx. li. received aforehand of the foreseid Sir John Daunce by way of prest—lxxvj. li. viij. s. To John Thurston, maister of the kynges barge, for the wages of clx. watermen to serve our seid soveraigne lord in his Greatt Galy oone day in October the vij$^{th}$ yere of his reigne at viij. d. a man—cvj. s. viij. d. To the same John Thurston for the wages of hymselff and dyverse watermen assigned to waite apon the ambassadours of Flaunders apon the Themys in July the ix$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lorde—x. li. xij. s. To Sir John Sharpe, knyght, in recompense of j. d. of a kersey, for dyverse kerseys shipped by Sir Westan Brownes licence, by reason the kynges grace bought the seid licence and was answered of all customes and subsidies of the same by obligation of Martyn de Pere and Peter Corse—xiij. li. xvj. s. vj. d. To John Hilmare, fremason, for copyng of a brekewall with harde stone of Kent betwene the gate ayenst the Lion Towre of the Towre of London and the wacche house, and for makyng of an upright steyer of assheler from the Themys as highe as the grounde afore the wacchehouse, with other amendementes, and fynysshyng of the Toure Wharff—lxvj. li. To John Stockyng, aswell for fynysshyng of the Quenes Brigge at Cradyll Toure, as for gravelyng of the ground of the seid wharff, and for settyng up of piles of elme tymber for defence of the steyers and buttrasses of the Toure Wharff—xj. li. ix. s. iij. d. To Thomas Erle of Surrey for the charges of certen espialles sent into dyverse parties of Fraunce—xvij. li. v. s. viij. d. To Robert Amadas, aswell for amendyng and gildyng of certeyn peces of olde stuff for the kynges horses as for xxv. unces di. quarter of new gilt stuff delyvered to the kynges grace—viij. li. xj. s. j. d. ob. For the wages of Edwarde Smyth, clerk unto the seid Sir John Daunce, makyng all the foreseid paymentes from the xx. day of July the vij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord unto the xx$^{ti}$ day of July the ix$^{th}$ yere of his most noble reigne, by the space

of twoo yeres at xij. d. a day—xxxvj. li. x. s. And for the costes of a dyner made for the Kynges jugges and other at the Sessions holden in Southwark when Cowley a traitour was reigned and condempned—c. s. In all, as by the seid boke of parcelles upon this declaracion examyned it may appere,

ccclxxviij. li. xv. s. vj. d. ob. (*Probatur.*)

Money prested to dyverse and soundre persons.

Also paied and delyvered to dyverse and soundre persons by our seid soveraigne lord the kynges commaundement by wey of prest for dyverse soundre and manyfolde causes concernyng the kynges affaires. That is to sey: To John Hopton apon riggyng certeyn of the kynges shippes —dcxvij. li. xiij. s. iiij. d. To John Guyllott apon makyng of a wharff for defence of the kynges storehouse at Depford and other causes—diiij$^{xx}$ xiij. li. x. s. iiij. d. To Mr. Thomas Larke to be delyvered to Henry Smyth, clerk of the kynges warkes apon the new buyldynges at Bridewell —ccc. li. To Walter Foster apon reparacions to be doon within the Toure of London—c. li. To Robert Brigandyn, apon fynysshyng the kynges grett galey—cl. li. To William Bonde, for and apon the reparyng of the Henry Grace Dieu—ccc. li. To William Gonson apon stockyng of gonnes—c. li. To Leonarde Friscobalde to be delyvered to Richard Pace, ambassadour in Italy, apon his diettes—c. li. To John Barton, of Plumpsted, in Kent, apon dyverse charges by hym to be doon at the storehouses at Ereth and at Depford—ccxl. li. To William Blacknall, apon the expences of the householde of the Quene of Scottes—c. li. To George Lovekyn, apon conveiaunce of certeyn horses to the emperour—xl. li. To Rouland de Fremys, oone of the kynges mynstrelles, in prest to be repaied of the first and next money that shalbe yeven unto hym of reward, forfeitour, or otherwise—xx. li. In all, as by the seid boke of parcelles apon this declaracion examyned it may appere.

J. Hopton. J. Guyllott. Mr. T. Larke. W. Foster. R. Brigandyn. W. Bonde. W. Gonson. L. Friscobald. J. Barton. W. Blacknall. G. Lovekyn. Rouland de Fremys.

m$^{l}$m$^{l}$dclxj. li. iij. s. viij. d. (*Probatur.*)

Somme of all the paymentes, costes, charges, expences, and prestes aforeseid.

vijm$^{l}$dcliiij$^{xx}$xvj. li. xv. s. viij. d. ob. (*Probatur.*)

And so remayneth in the handes of the seid Sir John Daunce apon the ende of this declaracion—lxiiij. s. iij. d. ob.

Examinatur et probatur per nos THOMAM TAMWORTH.
GUTHLACUM OVERTON.

## PART II.

The second portion of the roll belongs to a period a few years later, and gives an account of the money spent by Sir John Daunce for the king from "the 14th day of March the 13th year of our said sovereign lord unto the 20th day of November, in the 19th year of his most noble reign"—that is, from 14 March, 1522, to 20 November, 1527.

Before the earlier of these dates the kings of England and France had met

on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, but the eternal friendship which was intended to result from their mutual hospitality had already vanished. The first bone of contention was the fortification of Ardre by the French, which Henry professed to regard as a menace to Calais. This might have been satisfactorily settled, but while the Emperor was in the Low Countries his Spanish subjects took the opportunity afforded by his absence to rebel against him, and Francis, believing that his foe would thus have work enough on his hands at home, revived his designs against the duchy of Milan. Just at this time Cardinal Wolsey was endeavouring to make an offensive and defensive league between the Emperor, the Pope, and his own sovereign, and saw the necessity of at once interfering with this French project. With this object in view, he offered to mediate between Charles and Francis, and visited Calais for that purpose in the autumn of 1521. The mediation, however, was a mere pretence. The real object of the meeting was to conclude a treaty with Charles for war against France, and to arrange for his visiting England in the following year.

Many of the expenses connected with the Imperial visit occur on this roll. The first step in welcoming the distinguished visitor was to send the Marquis of Dorset to Calais with 1,523 men, whose coats cost 3*s.* 4*d.* a piece, "over and besydes vj. chapleyns, which hadd noo cotes"—or wages either, as far as this account tells. The wages of the "crew" were, fourteen captains at 4*s.* a day, fourteen petty captains at 2*s.*, mounted archers at 8*d.*, demilances 9*d.*, and soldiers 6*d.* a day. The whole cost of sending them, including a month's wages, was 1,842*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* When Charles arrived at Calais, he was received by the deputy and garrison, the streets being lined on one side by the Marquis' men in their new coats, as well as by the Mayor and Corporation in their gowns, and on the other side by the clergy, "furnishing their number with all the parsons, curates, priests, copes, crosses, and relics as may be gotten within the Pale."[a] Nor was this the only expense attendant upon his journey, for eighteen ships were hired from the Bailiff of Hastings to convoy him to Dover, at a cost of 60*l.*

While at Dover he was met, first by Cardinal Wolsey, and a day or two afterwards by the king himself, who took the opportunity of showing his visitor the *Henry Grace Dieu* and other ships, in which the king took an almost professional interest, and of which he was deservedly proud. The two sovereigns journeyed to London by Canterbury, Sittingbourne, Rochester, and Gravesend and thence by barge to Greenwich. On Wednesday and Thursday, June 4 and 5

[a] *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII.* iii. 2288.

a tournament and pageant were held, which must have been gorgeous in the extreme, to judge from the description of the dresses preserved in an account of Richard Gibson, the master of the revels. Two bards, perhaps those worn by the chargers of the king and the emperor, were made of russet velvet, "with knyghtes un hors bake rydyng up un mowntens of golld, with brokyn speres in ther handes, and ladyes cummyng oute of cloondes castyng dartes at the knyghtes, and all the upper parte of the saam bardes powdyrd with clowdes purfylled and wroght with venys golld and venys syllver."[a]

The masquerade in the evening was equally elaborate. Blue and black velvet buskins, Milan bonnets, and crimson satin mantles were supplied to the guests, some of whom appeared as foresters and others as "woodwos" or savage men, a favourite character at revels. The expense was considerable, for not only did the host find the dresses for his visitors to wear, but each man kept his costume.

It was while Henry was arming for this tournament, that a post came with news of the defiance of King Francis, by Clarencieux Herald at Lyons, on May 29th. Without waiting to finish the tedious process of putting on all his pieces, the king immediately sent for the emperor to tell him the news, while the crowd in the tilt-yard, English and Spaniards, guessing that a messenger who was admitted to see the king at such a time must bear news of importance, shouted out that the French King had defied their masters.

The following day the two sovereigns visited London, where they were received by the citizens with great rejoicings, the clergy being drawn up on the right side of the streets, as at Calais.

The pageant which was exhibited at London Bridge was so characteristic of the delight in symbolism which marked the middle ages, and of the classical feeling which was so strong in Tudor times, that the account of it from Grafton's Chronicle is well worth reprinting here.

When they were come to the draw bridge, there were set targets, of the armes of the emperour and his dominions, richely painted, and on the other syde stoode one great giaunt, representyng Hercules, with a mighty club in his hande, and on the other syde stoode another giaunt, representyng Sampson, with the jawe bone of an asse in his hande. These two giauntes held a great table, in the which was written in golden letters all the emperour's stile. From the draw bridge these two princes passed to the middes of the bridge, where was raysed a fayre edefice, with towers embattayled and gates, all like mansonry, of white and blacke, like touch and white marble; aboue this buildyng was a fayre pagiant, in the which stoode Jason all in harnesse,

[a] *Letters and Papers Henry VIII.* iii. 2305.

hauying before him a golden fleece, and on the one syde of hym stoode a fiery dragon, and on the other syde stoode two bulles, which beastes cast out fire continuallye, and in a tower on the one syde stoode a fayre mayde representyng the ladie Medea, which was very straungely and richely apparayled.[a]

So much for the ornamental side of the meeting. The practical result was the Treaty of Windsor, in which the necessity of repressing the French king's ambition, for the purpose of an expedition against the Turk, was put forth as the flimsy pretence for a league, in which both parties bound themselves not to desist from war until the provinces unjustly detained by the French king were recovered; and not to make separate treaties with the common enemy.

The very day the treaty was signed, the Earl of Surrey was busily employed at Southampton in embarking an army, giving out that he intended only to scour the seas for the emperor's safety on his return journey to Spain, where he arrived on July 6th.

The Earl of Surrey, who embarked on the 19th of June, was kept for some time in the Channel by contrary winds and the delay of the victuallers. His ship was the *Mary Rose*, which years afterwards met a similar fate to that of the *Royal George* in modern times. A gun which was sunk in her is now at the United Service Museum. His first exploit on landing on the French coast was the taking of Morlaix, but unfortunately his despatch giving an account of the assault is lost. From other sources we learn that Surrey landed with 7,000 men and 14 falcons on the 1st of July, and meeting with no resistance in the fields marched up to the town. When the admiral commanded the assault to be made, Lord Fitzwater and Baron Curson quartered the town on all sides. "The Englishmen shot with long bowes, and the Britons with crosbowes, which defended themselves manfully. Before the Porte Morvet there is a *meason de Dieu*. At this gate gave the assaut Sir Richard Wingfielde, Nicholas Carew, Fraunces Bryan, Sir John Wallop, and al their bends, having with them thre peces of ordinaunce called faucons, which the maister gunner oft times shot, but the Britones had set the gate full of arcubushes. Then the gunner sayd, 'Have at the wicket, and in the smoke of the gunnes let us enter the gate.' The gentelmen assented. Then the sayde Sir Christopher Gunner strake the locke of the wicket so that it flew open. Then in the smoke ranne to the gate the said Christopher and the other forenamed gentelmen, and when Christopher came to the gate he found the wicket open and entred, and the gentelmen folowed. The Britons defended themselves, but they were put backe and slayne. Then was the greate

[a] Grafton, ii. 322.

gate opened, and then entred the souldiers that were on the other side of the towne. When the Britons on the walles saw the towne gotten, some fled at the posterne, and some by another way, the best way that they could.

"The Erle of Surrey, with banner displayed, tooke the market place. Then the souldiors fell to pillage, and rifled the chestes and warehouses of marchauntes, for the towne of Morles was very riche, and specyally of linnen cloth. The gentelmen suffered the souldiers to doe what they woulde. When the souldiours had taken their pleasure of the town, as much for a truth, or more then they coulde beare away, the lord admyrall commaunded the trumpettes to blow, and commaunded all men to sette fyer in all places of the towne. The fayre market place was set on fyer, and the suburbs brent ardantly."[a] The next day the army returned to their ships.

The campaign lasted till the middle of October, and great damage was done to the country, but no battles fought. In the following winter and spring the treason of the Duke of Bourbon had materially strengthened the hands of the enemies of the French king, and, after lengthy negotiations between the emperor and Henry, it was determined to repeat the invasion of France in the summer of 1523. The Duke of Suffolk was appointed to command the English army; and the expenses of collecting the men, supplying them with coats, and sending them to Calais, together with the first month's wages, are entered on this roll, and will be found printed on subsequent pages, where will be found a list of the officers and artificers necessary for the conduct of a campaign. King Henry was in high hopes of recovering "his rightful inheritance" in France, and of being crowned in Paris as two of his namesakes had been. The chances certainly were in his favour, for the duke's army numbered more than 12,000 men, and the emperor was bound to provide 10,000 Germans, while Francis's best troops had already been sent on their march towards Milan. However, partly for lack of the emperor's promised co-operation, and partly, no doubt, from the inefficiency of Suffolk himself, who, though a brave man-at-arms, does not appear to have had much talent as a general, the campaign ended disgracefully by the return of the army to this country without orders. What the army did while they were in France will be learned from the following journal of their exploits:—

In the xv. yere of the reigne of our soverayne lorde Kynge Henry the eight, the acties done in Fraunce under the honorable lord the duke of Soulfolke.

[a] Grafton, ii. 325.

The xix$^{th}$ daye of the monyth of Septembre, my lordes grace the duke of Soulfolke toke his jornay out of Callyce with his army ryall to Calkwell Churche, and that nyght was alarome, and ij. Flemynges were slayne and a boy maymed that lay without the leger, and therefore my lordes grace made a proclamacion that none should lye without the leger, nor borne nor robbe, nether breke his ray, upon payne of deth, but kepe good order and peace.

Item, the xxj$^{th}$ daye of September to Saynt Blase, and campid ther that nyght.

Item, the xxij$^{ti}$ daye, my lordes grace rode to Arde and mete with the Emperoures levetenaunt my Lord Istyllstayne, Mownsr. Lyke, Mownsr. Lynne, Mownsr. Clere, and Mownsr. Mottes with a great nombre of horsmen and fotmen, and they campyd at Lawnderton by them selff, and that is callyd the Allmens Leger, and my lordes grace retornyd home agayne to his owne campe that nyght.

Item, the xxvij$^{th}$ daye of September, my lord Sendes and my lorde Ferrys whent to Bell Castell, which was a stronge holde and well watred. And there Master Skevyngton was smytten thorow the sleve with a gonne and had no harme, by grace of God.

Item, the xxviij$^{th}$ daye at vj. of the clocke in the mornyng, whee wanne Bell Castell and toke lx. prisoners, the captayne, his wiffe and his chelde, and a great botie of bease and stoffe.

Item, the xxix. daye to Denderon, the campe wher the ij. kynges mette.

Item, the xxx. daye of September to Dornam.

Item, the furst daye of October to Cordes.

Item, the vij$^{th}$ daye to Rookyd Hay.

Item, the viij$^{th}$ daye of October to Forste.

Item, the ix$^{th}$ daye to Marcke.

Item, the x$^{th}$ daye to Rokeland.

Item, the xj$^{th}$ daye of October, to Ryall Cowrte, and that daye our horsmen toke a captayne of Stradiotes, and xx. of his company horsmen, both horse and man.

Item, the xij$^{th}$ daye to Losshaw.

Item, the xv$^{th}$ daye to Fordylow, bysyde Dorlance.

Item, the xvij$^{th}$ daye to Kyrckwurte.

Item, the xviij$^{th}$ daye to Ducker, and ther the people flede and ther lay garyson thre dayes.

Item, the xix$^{th}$ daye to Quede on this halfe Braye.

Item, the xx$^{th}$ daye at iiij. of the clocke in the mornyng owr gonners be ghonne to shote at the walles of Braye, and by vj. of the clocke they beate downe great gape in the walles the bred of a carte, besyde a towre at the corner of the towne. And ther were xv$^{c}$. men of armes besydes men of the towne, and of the contray, which was a great nombre, advawnsyng themselffe ther with there standartes lyke gallantes. Then our men callyd "asawte, asawte," and toke a dyck that was xxxv. foote dype downe ryght, and gate the walles without laddres, which was a marvellous great enterprice. And they beate the Frenchmen out of towne over the water of Some, and there rane away Mownsr. Pondormy the great captayne with many other, and whold a hewyne downe the brygges, but our men chaced them so fast that they drove them into the maryes and drowned many a Frenchman. And ther our men chaced them to a great bolwerke, and beate them frome hit, and wane all ther ordynaunce, and toke a captayne with many other

prisoneres. And that daye my lorde Lenard [a] gate a passege at Capye with xx. men, and ther was ij[c] men of armes to kepe the passege, but it whold not serve them that daye, God and Saynt George gave us the victory. And the same daye at afternone my lorde Saundes [b] came over the water of Some into the bulwerke, and ther lay in the campe.

Item, the xxj[ti] day of October my lordes grace removed from Quede to Capye, and ther orderyd the garyson for the kepyng of Bray.

Item, the xxij[ti] daye Roye was gevyne up and the men flede a way, which was a good walled towne, well wateryd one the one syed.

Item, the xxiij[ti] daye, my lordes grace devysed all the bolwerkes agaynst the water of Some for the deffence of Bray, which was the kay of all Fraunce and was never wone before.

Item, the xxv[ti] daye my lordes grace removyd from Capye to Lyon Sawmpere.

Item, the xxvj[ti] daye to Dawbeneye Cowrte. And that was a stronge towne, and a fayer castell, but the people flede away, and ther was great plentie of wyne.

Item, the xxvij[ti] day, to Mowndidier. And at vj. of the clocke in the nyght our gonners gave them a peall of gonnes at rovers, and after that they had no more joy to shote. And by ij. of the clocke in the mornyng our great ordynaunce was layd within xl. foote of the walles, and gave them iiij. goodly pealles and brake downe the walles a great bredith, hard by the myghtie stronge bolwerke, the strongist that evyr I saw, and marvelowsly mad with iiij. flowers. And at vij. of the clocke in the mornyng they were so ferde of the sawte, ther trompet came to the walles and blew a peace, and so our gonners shott no more, and so they gave hit over and were glade to departe with ther lyves. Ther was Mounsr. Lye Seenyshall le Turwyne, and Mounsr. le Fowntaunce, besyde other great captaynee, and ij. m[l]. v[c]. men of warr, which had byn able in that stronge holde to a withstond a c. m[l]. men; for they were well wyttelled, and the towne was dowbyll wallyd, and they had many marvelous conveyaunce in gavys to go under the grownd a myell out of the towne, and that many wayes, and therfore my lordes grace distroyed hit. And ther was in the towne wyne and salte, meall, wodde, flax, and wax, and great supstaunee of all marchandyes without nombre, but all the men of supstaunee in the towne were flede and gone every man. And upon Saynt Symond Daye and Jude Eve, before the ost ther was takyn l. men of armes, l. demylawnees and l. pages comyng to the towne with gonne powder, and ther was not one of them that eskaped, but the captayne, and yet he had ij. staves broken upon hym, but his horse was so good that he bare hym clere away.

Item, the xxxj[ti] daye of October to Roye and campyd on the sowthe syed.

Item, the furst daye of the monyth of Novembre, which was Alhallow daye. And my lordes grace removyd to the north syed of Roy and camped ther, and that daye my lordes grace made xiiij. knyghtes, my Lorde Powes, my Lord Harberd, Ser Arter Pole, Ser Olyver Manerd, Ser Richard Saundes, Ser Robert Jernyngham, Ser Robert Sallysbery, Ser Edmond Beddyngfyld, Ser Richard Corbett, Ser Thomas Wentworth, of Soulfolke, Ser Willyam Sturton, Ser Water Mantell, Ser George Warham, and Ser Edward Semer.[c]

[a] Lord Leonard Grey, brother of the Marquis of Dorset, afterwards Deputy of Ireland.

[b] Recently appointed captain of Guisnes Castle on the death of Sir Nicholas Vaux.

[c] Son of Sir John Seymour of Wolf Hall, afterwards successively Viscount Beauchamp, Earl of Hertford, Duke of Somerset, and Protector in the reign of Edward VI.

Item, the seeond daye wee removyd to Nele and ther campid. And that was a fayer towne and a well walled, and wattred on the one syed.

Item, the iiij$^{th}$ daye from Nele to Bowean or Wowean. And ther was a marvellous strayght passage in the mydes of the way, and one the north syed of the same Bowean was iij. ryvers of the Some, and the Frenshe men brake up the bryges when that they hard of my lordes graee commyng. And upon the brygges comyng over my lordes grace made ij. knyghtes, Ser Robert Bulser and Ser John Dudlay.[a]

Item, the v$^{th}$ daye my lordes grace removyd over the water and campid at Bewford.

Item, the vij$^{th}$ daye of the monyth of November my lordes grace removyd to a goodly abbay of Our Lady that was namyd Mounte Martayne. The same day Mounsr. Lyne with horsemen by a trayne gate Bowgard, which is a goodly eastell, and put oute the Frenche men in ther doublettes and ther hose."[b]

Just at the time when the army was breaking up, and the men were returning as best they could from Antwerp, Sluys, Nieuport, and other harbours, a reinforcement of 6,000 men, under Lord Mountjoy, was ready to join them, and 6,608 coats were bought for them, but the men "returned home from diverse places as they were coming up to London, wherefore the said coats been to be restored to the king's use." Their "conduyte" money, however, before they were countermanded, and to send them home again, amounted to 2,026*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*

Another royal visit is also referred to, in the payment of 24*l.* to Henry Courtenay, Earl of Devon, afterwards Marquis of Exeter, for attending upon the King of Denmark. This was Christiern II., King of Denmark and Sweden, who visited this country in June, 1523. In 1519 he had invaded Sweden, and was crowned king in November, 1520, but from the commencement of his reign indulged in acts of the greatest eruelty and tyranny. Shortly after his coronation he ordered a massaere of the principal inhabitants. A rebellion was soon organised under the leadership of Gustavus Vasa, and during the war which ensued Christiern is said to have hanged and burned an archbishop. In retaliation the people killed "his governour, the woman of Hollande, whieh was modyr to his dove, so theey ealle the prynces sovereeyn laady in that contre, wheerby aperyth that ille lyffe and lyke governaunee comyth offtyn to ille ende."[c] This "sovereign lady" was not his queen, who was sister to the Emperor Charles V., but "his witeh who ruled him."

King Francis I. gave him some aid against the Swedes, and in return expected him to help James V. King of Scotland, in an attaek on the Borders, and thus prevent England from invading Franee.

[a] Afterwards Lord Lisle, Earl of Warwick, and Duke of Northumberland; executed 22 Aug., 1553, for his attempt to raise Jane Grey, his daughter-in-law, to the throne.

[b] Add. MS. 10, 110, f. 236, B. M.

[c] Sir Robert Wingfield to Wolsey. Galba B. vii. 325.

However, all these arrangements came to nothing, for, in April, 1523, Christiern was deposed by the Estates both of Denmark and Sweden, and forced to flee from both countries, while his uncle, the Duke of Holstein, was elected king in his stead. It was at first thought that he had sailed for Scotland, but he suddenly landed in Flanders, with his queen and three children (whose portraits, by Mabuse, are in the possession of Lord Radnor, and were exhibited at Burlington House in 1876), and a fleet of eighteen ships. Margaret of Savoy, his wife's aunt, who was then governess of the Low Countries, received him hospitably, and assigned him a pension, for he had nothing but her alms to live upon. His feelings towards England were completely altered by the change in his circumstances, and he expressed a great desire to visit the king, thinking perhaps that English gold was easier got than French.

His overtures were not received with much cordiality, and Cardinal Wolsey tried to put him off by sending him a safe-conduct, which he thought the king could hardly make use of. The stipulations in the safe-conduct were that he should enter no English port with ships, or with more than one hundred followers, or visit Scotland. This rebuff was ineffectual, and he was content to come by land to Calais, with only eighty persons in his retinue, for whom he asked the king to supply fifty horses on his landing in England, mentioning particularly that he wanted eight or ten ambling nags for himself, the queen, and her ladies.[a] Hall says that his train only consisted of his queen and four ladies, and forty other persons, poor and evil apparelled. He landed at Dover on June 15, where he was received by the Earl of Devonshire and the Bishops of Exeter and Rochester. On his arrival at Greenwich he was welcomed by the king and queen, standing under their cloth of estate, and dined with them. He afterwards was lodged at Bath Place, in the Strand, where Wolsey had an interview with him, and advised him to return to the countries which remained obedient to him, and try to regain the goodwill of the lords of Denmark and Sweden. The cardinal thought it "ferre discrepant from good ordre, reason, or congruence, that a prince shal thus by the wilfulnes of his lordes and commons be expelled and put from his croun upon any greves by them pretended."[b] Acting on this feeling, he persuaded Henry to write in his favour to the emperor, proposing to help forward his restoration by pacific means, a proposal which Charles at once accepted, promising to employ force, if necessary. It was reported that Christiern wished to sell his title to Henry VIII., and the English ambassador in the Low Countries, having heard of the scheme, warned Wolsey that the kingdom went by election, not succession.[c]

[a] Dr. Knighte to Wolsey. Galba B. VIII. 40.

[b] *State Papers Hen. VIII.* vi. 158.

[c] Galba B. VI. 48.

This bargain was never made, but Christiern obtained from Henry a confirmation of a previous treaty between his father John and Henry VII. for settling disputes about commerce and rights of fishing, and binding each party to help the other, and not to harbour each other's rebels. The counterpart of this treaty, which was signed by Christiern at London, on June 30, 1523, is now in the Public Record Office.[a] The seal is of red wax, within a saucer of coarse white wax. It bears Christiern's arms, surmounted by a crown and C. R. with savage men with clubs as supporters. The legend is "Secretum Cristierni Dacie Suecie N[orvegie] Sclavorum Gottorum regis ducis Slesvicensis et Holsacie Stormarie ac Ditmercie comit. in Oldenb. et Delmenhors."

The field is slightly sunk, and the latter half of the legend is carried along the inner edge. The counter-seal has the same shield, without supporters. The legend is "Signetum Cristierni Dacie Suecie regis," the rest of the style appearing in interstices behind the shield.

The seal is suspended by silk ribbons of faded pinkish purple and white.

The arms on both seals are, the double cross of Denmark—

1st quarter—Semée of hearts, three lions passant guardant. *Denmark.*

2. Three crowns. *Sweden.*

3. A lion rampant holding a battle axe. *Norway.*

4. A wyvern, the ancient flag of the Vandals.

Over this an escutcheon of pretence, bearing, Quarterly, 1 and 3, two lions passant guardant. *Sleswick.*

2. A leaf. *Holstein* (?)

4. A swan gorged with coronet. *Stormerk.*

Over the whole an inescutcheon, bearing two bars, for *Oldenborgh.*

His expenses while in England were paid by King Henry, and 342*l.* are entered in this account as paid to Nicholas Hurleton for his diet. Hurleton's receipts for this money are still extant at the Public Record Office.

One incident of his visit to London is thus recorded by Hall. While at Bath Place,—"Hearyng of the watch in London on St. Peter's even he desired to see it, and so was accompanyed with the duke of Suffolke, the erles of Oxford, Essex, and Kent, and dyvers other lordes and ladies, and brought into the Kings Head in Chepe, where the Citie of London made to him and hys wife a costly banquet. And when he had sene the watch, he sayd—'I would to God I had so many archers, pikes and halberders, as I sawe this night. Then I trust I would punishe suche as have wrongfully dispossessed me of my realme and country.' And after he had solaced himselfe in London, he resorted to the King, of whome he had many

[a] Printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, xiii. 798.

great giftes, and likewise had hys wyfe of the Queene her aunt, and so tooke their leave, and were conveyed to Dover. And when he had bene in England xxij. dayes, he toke shipping and sayled agayne into Flaunders, praisyng muche the King of Englande and hys court."[a]

His personal appearance is thus described by an Italian who saw him at Brussels when he was on a visit to his brother-in-law the Emperor in 1526. "He is a man of 36 or 38 years of age (he was really over 40), well formed, neither large nor small in person, with a black beard, and the face of an Italian. He is said to be prudent and discreet."[b]

Several years after this he made a descent on Norway, but was taken prisoner and confined, first at Sunderbourg, and then at Callembourg, where he died in January 1559.

The "insurrection at Coventry," mentioned later, was a plot concocted in December 1523 by Francis Phillip, schoolmaster to the king's henchmen, Christopher Pykering, clerk of the larder, and Anthony Maynville, gentleman, to rob the collectors of the subsidy on their road to London, and with this money to raise men and capture Kenilworth Castle. Hall says their object was "to have made battayle against the king."

This Francis Phillip must not be confused with a Spaniard of the same name who was sewer to Queen Katharine, and who was sent to Spain by her on business connected with the divorce.

Immediately after the arrest of the ringleaders, Wolsey wrote to the mayor to search for their accomplices, and the letter was read by the Corporation on December 16, as appears from the records of the Corporation in the Harl. MSS., but there is no information about the result of their search.[c]

The three ringleaders were executed with the usual formalities at Tyburn on Feb. 11, and the rest were sent down to Coventry for the same purpose.

Coventry was rather prone to these disturbances, for the year before, two

[a] Grafton, ii. 340.

[b] "Hollo visto, è huomo di 36 in 38 anni, ben formato di corpo, ne grande ne piccolo, con barba negra, con effigie d'Italiano. Se dice essere prudente e discreto."—Lettere di Principi, i. 93.

[c] "At the assemble holdon the Wensday next ensuynge (16 Dec. 1523), then present Mr. Julyne [Nethermyll], Meyer, Mr. Whyte, master of the gylde, Mr. Marler, Mr. Hassall, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Humfrey. Mr. Waren, Mr. Bonde, Mr. Wycam. At thys assemble was rede and poblyshed a letter frome my lorde Cardenall wyllyng that dyllygent serche scholde be made to have knolege of mo personnes whyche were assented and agreyd to the insurreccion moveyd withyn thys cytte by one Fraunces Phyllype and other takyn and sende upe to the kinges cownsell." Harl. 7571, f. 34

men, Pratt and South by name, conspired to murder the mayor and aldermen and take Kenilworth Castle. The plot was discovered, and they were tried and convicted in London, and sent back to Coventry to be executed. Their heads and limbs were distributed as ornaments to the four gates of the city.[a]

In the year following Phillip's insurrection (1524) there was another *émeute*. The inhabitants pulled down the gates and hedges on some newly inclosed land, and shut the gates against the chamberlain. For this the mayor, Nicholas Hemyng, was deprived. The king's temper was roused by this perpetual restlessness, and he determined to put a stop to it. In August 1525 he sent the Marquis of Dorset, who had a house at Ashley, about six miles from Coventry, to demand the surrender of four persons, and, as the Marquis himself writes, to ask the mayor and brethren "whether they coude or wold undertake to rule and ordre the said citie, sayeng that if they wold not so doo, I wold meself under your graces auctoritie and commaundement comme thyder and rule the same, to all their displeasures, undoing of the said citie and taking their liberties from theym for ever." They promised to return the same day with the said four persons, and give such an answer as would content the king, and the marquis tells the king that if they make any further business, with the help and aid of his servants and friends, he will "doo execucion upon the misdoers before their owne gates, as the caas shall require." In a postscript written the following day, the marquis says that the mayor and brethren have delivered the guilty persons, and undertake to rule and order the city and keep the peace. Their promise, however, was not considered sufficient, and they were obliged to give a bond of 5000 marks for the good order of the city till Christmas. While the letter was being written, further orders came from the king, which were apparently of a still severer nature, for the marquis says he has ordered up more men in addition to the 2000 he has with him, and doubts not to be able to execute the king's commands, "whosoever wyll say nay or presume the contrary."[b]

Even this severity does not seem to have been quite effectual, for in the next month of November it was found necessary to send the following proclamation to the mayor and sheriffs to be published within the city and suburbs.

Whereas of late divers riotous and evell disposed persons, not dreading nor fearing our soveraigne lord the king nor his lawes, riotously assembled themselves in great routes and unlawfull nombers within this the kinges citie of Coventry, against the maiour, aldermen, burgesses, and other well ruled and disposed inhabitantes thereof, to the great trouble, feare, and

[a] *Hist. of Coventry*, 1810, p. 34. [b] Titus B. i. 76.

inquietacion of the said inhabitauntes, if due punishment and correccion had not byn done and had in that behalf: And albeit that divers and many of the said riotous persons, as well by imprisonment and banishment, as otherwise within the same citie and elsewhere, have byn punished and corrected for their said misdemeanours, yet that notwithstanding, as the kinges grace is credibly enformed, divers evell disposed persons yet continueing in their perverse and malitious purpose, have not onlie of late eftsoones privily renewed their said combinacions and unlawfull confederacions, but also they have caused seditious billes and writinges to be made against certaine well disposed aldermen and burgesses of this the kinges citie, to their no litle inquietacion and trouble, and the emboldening of evell disposed persons: For remedy, punishment, and reformacion whereof the king our soveraigne lord, by the advice of his counsell, straightlie chargeth and comaundeth all and singular persons, of what estate, degree, or condicion he or they be, from henceforth that they not onlie desist, forbeare, and leave their said confederacions and combynacions, but also that assoone as any of them shall knowe or heare anie such conspiratours, combyners, makers, devisers, or consentors of such seditious billes or writinges, that they forthwith attache them or cause them to be attached and arrested, or ells to showe or give knowledge thereof to the saide maiour, aldermen, and sheriffes of the said citie, to thentent they may be by them attached, taken, and ymprisoned; and so there to remayne unto such tyme as the kinges highnes and his counsaile may be asserteyned thereof, and thereupon to be punished by fyne and ransome, and furthermore their bodyes to be at the kinges high pleasure.[a]

There is rather an amusing entry towards the end of the roll. "To William Browne, theiff, for his costes reteyned for peching of other theiffes, xviij. s. x. d." William Browne is not a sufficiently uncommon name to be identified with any certainty, and I cannot say what robberies he had committed or who it was he entrapped into the hands of justice. There were, however, two men of the name, to either of whom it might apply. One was a soldier of Calais, who, with others, was pardoned for stealing hemp on 17 April, 1529. The other, a sherman by trade, was a prisoner for felony, in the Cok Alley in St. Martin's Sanctuary, in February, 1525.

The name of Anne Boleyn, though it must have been frequently in the mouths of English people at this period, occurs but once on this roll, and then only as giving a name to a ship belonging to or commanded by her brother, George Boleyn, Lord Rochford. I do not find this name among the lists of the king's ships, but he had one named after her sister, "The Mary Bullen."

At p. 38 there is a notice of Lord Edmund Howard being sent to serve against the Scots. This was a son of Thomas Howard, who was created Duke of Norfolk after his victory at Flodden, in which battle Edmund had commanded the vanguard. He served the king in his wars both by land and sea, but could not

[a] Harl. 442, f. 59.

manage to keep himself out of debt, and was so pressed by his creditors that at one time he begged Cardinal Wolsey to employ him in a projected expedition to Newfoundland, to provide his wife and children with meat and drink. At a later period he held an appointment at Calais, where Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle, a natural son of Edward IV., was Lord Deputy. Lord Lisle's wife was a lady who took a great deal of interest in other people's affairs, and was very fond of amateur doctoring. Among her papers is the following letter from Lord Edmund, which affords a good example of the plain speaking of our ancestors :—

Madame, so yt is I have this nyght aftyr mydnyght takyn your medysyn, for the whytche I hertely thanke youe. For yt hathe done me mytche good, and hathe cawsyd the stone to breke, so that now I voyd mytche gravyll. But for all that your sayd medysyn hathe done me lytyll honeste, for yt made me pys my bed thys nyght, for the whytche my wyffe hathe sore betyn me, and saying 'yt ys chylderyns partes to bepys ther bed.' Ye have made me suche a pysser that I dare not this daye go abrode, wherfore I beseche youe to make myne eskewse to my lorde and master Tresorer, for that I shall not be wythe youe thys daye at dyner. Madame, it is shewyd me that a wyng or a leg of a storke, yff I ett theroff, wyll make me that I shall nevyr pysse more in bed, and thowgh my body be semple, yet my tong shalbe evyr good, and specealIy when it spekyth of women. And sethyns suche a medysyn wyll do sutche a gret cure, God send me a pece theroff.

All youres,

EDMUND HOWARD.

To the Ryght Honerable the Vycountes
Lysle thys be delyvered.

Hast, post hast,
Hast, for thy lyffe.[a]

I do not know whether this medicinal effect of stork's flesh was generally recognised in prescientific times, but I have never seen it mentioned elsewhere.

In the Public Record Office there is a mutilated copy of the second part of this roll, with corrections, examined, and the amounts checked by Tamworth and Overton, but their signatures have been crossed out.

The roll here printed is evidently a fair copy, made in consequence of the mistakes in the other.

---

Here ensueth a declaracion of accompt made by Syr John Daunce, knyght, oone of our soveraigne lord the kynges counceIors, assigned and appoynted by our seid soveraigne lord the kynge to be expenditor and payour of soundre sommes of money appointed and delyvered unto hym, for to be employd, expendid, laid out, and paied, as well for wages of warre, as for diverse

[a] *Lisle Papers*, XI., 24, P. R. O.

and other soundre the kynges affaires, that is to say, as well of all sommes of money by hym received of dyverse and soundre persones, for and apon thexpences and charges of the same our soveraigne lordes warres and other necessarye causes and affaires aforeseid; as also of the employment, expendynge, avanncing, and layinge owt of the same money by the seid Sir John Daunce by vertue of our seid soveraigne lord the kynges high and dradd commandement, and of his most honorable councell, at diverse and soundrie tymes, for manyfold causes, concerning the premisses, from the xiiij$^{th}$ day of March the xij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord unto the xx$^{th}$ day of November in the xix$^{th}$ yere of his most noble reigne.

As herafter is declared:

Money received of

John Miklowe, esquier, late tresorer of our soveraigne lord the kynges chamber, at diverse and soundrie tymes by vertue ot severall warraunts to the same John Miklowe, in that behalf directed; that is to say, the xiiij$^{th}$ day of March the xij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord, ccxvij. li., the xvij$^{th}$ day of May the xiiij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord d. li. the xxiiij$^{th}$ day of the same moneth the same yere mcce. li. In all, as by the confession of the seid Sir John Daunce and his boke of parcelles upon this declaracion examyned it may appere,

m$^{l}$m$^{l}$xvij. li.

Edmond Pekham.

By the commandment of our seid soveraigne lord apon thexpences and charges of his warres, the xv$^{th}$ day of June the xiiij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord lxx. li. at diverse tymes, as appereth by an indenture dated the [a] day of [a] the forseid xiiij$^{th}$ yere vm$^{l}$d. li. In all, as by the boke of parcelles and indentures made between the seid Sir John Daunce and the seid Edmond Pekham apon this declaracion examined it may appere, vm$^{l}$dlxx. li.

Sir Herry Wyatt, knyght,

Tresorer of our soveraigne lord the kynges chamber, for and upon the charges of the kynges warres and other his affaires at diverse and soundrie tymes; that is to say, the xij$^{th}$ day of July the xiiij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord, cc. li. At soundre tymes, by indenture dated the iij$^{rd}$ day of January the same yere iiij$^{xx}$ixm$^{l}$d. li., and at diverse tymes by an indenture dated the xvj$^{th}$ day of December, the xvij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraign lord, m$^{l}$m$^{l}$dccc. li. In all, as by iij. severall indentures made betwene the said Sir John Daunce and the seid Sir Herry Wyatt apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, iiij$^{xx}$xijm$^{l}$d. li.

William Seyntpeir,

In the price of diverse empty foystes or vesselles remaining at Caies in the charge of William Briswood, and by the seid William Seyntpeir ther sold, in the moneth of September the xviij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord, as by the boke of parcelles of the forseid Sir John Daunce apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, vij. li. ij. s. iiij. d.

Somme of the totall receipt aforeseid, cm$^{l}$iij$^{xx}$xiiij. li. ij. s. iiij. d.

Whereof the seid Sir John Daunce requyreth allowaunce for money by hym avanuced, paied, and laid owt, as well by warrauntes as by the commandement of our seid soveraigne lord the kyng and his most honorable councell, for dyverse causes concernyng his warres and other his affaires. That is to say:

[a] Blanks in MS.

Furst. Paied by the seid Sir John Daunce to diverse and soundre noblemen and gentilmen capteyns, for m$^{l}$dxxiij. cottes for ther selfes and ther retynues, over and besydes vj. chapleyns which hadd noo cotes, appoynted to serve our soveraigne lord the kynges graee in a crewe sent to Cales for the defence of the same towne and the marches ther, in the moneth of May the xiiij$^{th}$ yere of his most noble reigne; price of every cote, iij. s. iiij. d. as by a boke of the names of the said capteyns with the nomber of their retynues apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, ccliij. li. xvj. s. viij d.

Cotes and conduyte for a crewe sent to Cales in May the xiiij$^{th}$ yere of our said soveraign lord.

Also, paid for the conduytyng of xiiij. capteyns, xiiij. pety capteyns, cc. archers of horsebak, c. demi-launces, m$^{l}$ccj. souldiours from ther dwellyng places in diverse parties of this realme to Sandwich by soundre distaunces: capteyns at iiij. s. a day, pety capteyns at ij. s. a day, archers of horsebak at viij. d. a day, and demi-launces at ix. d. a day, and souldiors at vj. d. a day, as by the boke of parcelles of the particler names and nombers of the said retynues with the distaunces of the myles upon this accompt examyned it may appere, cclxxij. li. xj. s. x. d.

dxxvj. li. viij. s. vj d.

Wages of the forseid crewe for a moneth.

Also paied for the wages of xiiij. capteyns, every of them at iiij. s. a day, xiiij. pety capteyns every of them at ij. s. a day, clxxix. archers on horsebak every of them at viij. d. a day, c. demi launces every of them at ix. d. a day, and mccxxij. souldiors every of them at vj. d., appoynted to serve the kynges grace in the forseid crewe for a moneth begon at soundre dayes in June the xiiij. yere of our seid soveraigne lord, as by the boke of parcelles apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, m$^{l}$ccxlv. li. xvj. d.

Transportyng of the seid crewe.

Also paied by the seid Sir John Daunce for the hier of dyverse shippes for the transportyng of the said crewe, with the hier of grett botes to bryng them a shippebord, and for portage of them, with hire of brigges to shippe their horses, as by the boke of parcells apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, lxxj. li. vj. s v. d.

Somme of the hoole charge of the seid crewe sent to Cales, m$^{l}$dccexlij. li. xvj. s. iij. d.

Also paied to diverse and soundre noblemen and gentilmen capteyns, for vjm$^{l}$dcccexxviij. cotes for so many persons, over and besides xxvj. which hadd no cootes, appoynted to serve our seid soveraign lord in his warres in an army by land into Fraunce, under the leadyng of Thomas now Duke of Norfolk, then Erle of Surrey, lord admirall, in August the xiiij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord, price every cote iij. s. iiij. d., as by the boke of parcelles of the names of the seid capteyns with particler nomber of their retynues apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, m$^{l}$cliiij. li. xiiij. s. iiij. d.

Cotes and conduyte of an army sent into Fraunce under the leadyng of my lord of Norfolk then Erle of Surrey, in the xiiij$^{th}$ yere of our said soveraign lord.

Also paied for the conduytyng of xliij. capteyns, xxxviij. pety capteyns, v. leadors of mynors, xiiij. demi launces, ccxvj. archers on horsebak, and vjm$^{l}$dcxxxviij. souldiors, from their dwellyng places in diverse places of this realme unto London; capteyns at iiij. s. a day, pety capteyns at ij. s. a day, demi launces at ix. d. a day, archers oon horsebak at viij. d. a day, and souldiors at vj. d. a day, as by the boke of parcelles of the particler names and nombres of the retynues with the distaunces of myles apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, m$^{l}$cceviij. li. vj. s. vj. d.

m$^{l}$m$^{l}$cccclxij. li. xix s. x. d.

Also paied for the wages of my lord Leonard Grey at vj. s. viij. d. a day, xliij. capteyns every of them at iiij s. a day, John Parker spere on horsebak at iij. s. iiij. d. a day, xlij. pety capteyns every of them at ij. s. a day, v. leadors of mynors every of them at xij. d. a day, xiiij. demilaunces every of them at ix. d. a day, cxiiij$^{xx}$xvj. archers on horsebak every of them at viij. d. a day, and vjm$^{l}$dcxx. souldiors every of them at vj. d. a day, appoynted to serve the kynges grace in the forseid army by the space of xiiij. dayes begon at soundre and severall dayes in the moneth of August the xiiij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord, as by the forseid boke of parcelles apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, m$^{l}$m$^{l}$dcv. li. x. s. iiij. d. Wages of the foreseid army for soundre tymes.

Also paied for wages of xx archers on horsebak, every of them at viij. d. a day, and xij. souldiors every of them at vj. d. a day appoynted to serve the kynges grace in his forseid army by the space of a moneth, begon the iiij$^{th}$ day of August the forseid xiiij$^{th}$ yere and endyng the last day of the same moneth, both the dayes included, xxviij. dayes accompted for the moneth, as by the forseid boke of parcelles apon this declaracion examyned it may appere,

xxvij. li. xvj. d.

m$^{l}$m$^{l}$dcxxxij. li. xj. s. viij. d.

Cootes and conduyte of an army sent into Fraunce in the moneth of August the xv$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord under the leading of Charles Duke of Suffolk.

Also paied and delyverd to Charles Duke of Suffolk, leiftenant generall of an army sent into Fraunce in the moneth of Auguste the xv$^{th}$ yere of our soveraigne lord, by wey of prest apon provysion of m$^{l}$dcc. cotes for m$^{l}$dcc. men in his retynue, and apon conduyting of the said men from their dwellyng places to Canturbury, as by the forseid boke of parcelles and an indenture betwen the seid duke and forseid Sir John Dannce apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, Carolus Suff. dux.

dcccxl. li.

Also paied and delyvered to William Lillegrave, the v$^{th}$ day of September the xv$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord, in prest apon the provysion of m$^{l}$dclxvj. cootes for m$^{l}$dclxvj. men, which remayned in a crewe at Cales and appoynted to be of the seid army under the leadyng of the seid Charles Duke of Suffolk; price every cote iij. s. iiij. d. In all, as by the foreseid boke of parcelles signed with thand of the seid William Lillegrave apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, W. Lillegrave.

cclxxvij. li. xiij. s. iiij. d.

Also paied to diverse and soundre noblemen and gentilmen, capteyns and other, for vj$^{ml}$dcviij. cootes at iij. s. iiij. d. a pece, m$^{l}$cccxxxj. cootes at ij. s. iiij. d. a pece, for ther selfes and their retynues appoynted to serve our seid soveraigne lord in the forseid army, and went forth in the same, m$^{l}$cclvj. li. xij. s. iiij. d. And to my lord Mountjoy for cexiiij. cootes, Sir Edward Croft for cij. cootes, Sir George Throgmorton, knyght, for cij. cotes, Sir Thomas Tyrrell, knyght, for l. cootes, Sir Thomas Tey knyght for l. cootes, William Fermor for xx. cootes, and John Pye of the towne of Oxenford for xx. cootes; price every coote, iij. s. iiij. d. For so many men which were appoynted to have gone over the see for the reenforcing of the seid army and afterward Dominus Mountjoy. Edwardus Croft. G. Throgmorton. T. Tyrrell. T. Tey. W. Fermor. Johannes Pye.

retorned home from diverse places as the were commyng up to London. Wherfor the seid cotes been to be restored to the kynges use, iiij$^{xx}$xiij. li. In all, as by the particler boke of parcelles apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, m$^{l}$cccxlix. li. xij. s. iiij. d.

Also paied for the conduyte of lx. capteyns at severall wages, l. pety capteyns every of them at ij. s. a day, ix. trumpetors and gonners every of them at xvj. d. a day, xxxj. clerkes and officers every of them at xij. d. a day, vj. gonners and surgeons every of them at x. d. a day, clxix. demi launces every of them at ix. d. a day, cccliij$^{xx}$j archers on horsebak, artificers and other, every of them at viij. d. a day, and vjm$^{l}$dccelviij. souldiors every of them at vj. d. a day, over and besides ccexxxviij. which hadd noo conduyte, appoynted to serve the kynges grace in his forseid army from their dwellyng places in diverse places of this realme unto Canturbury by severall distaunces—m$^{l}$dcccliij$^{xx}$vij. li. xiij. s. iiij. d. and for the conduyte of iij. capteyns, ij. pety capteyns, xliiij. archers oon horsebak, and dlxx. souldiors which were appoynted to have gon over the see for the reenforsing of the seid army from ther dwellyng places in diverse parties of this realme unto London and other places coming to London ward, wher they were countermaunded home agen, lxix. li. ix. s. vj. d. and for ther like conduyte from London and from such places as they were countermaunded unto ther dwelling places home ayen, lxix. li. ix. s. vj. d. In all, as by the seid boke of parcelles apon this declaracion examyned it may appere,

m$^{l}$m$^{l}$xxvj. li. xij. s. iiij. d.

m$^{l}$m$^{l}$m$^{l}$m$^{l}$ccccliij$^{xx}$xiij. li. xviij. s.

Wages of the forseid army for severall tymes.

Also paied for the wages of Charles Duke of Suffolk, leiftenaunt of the said army c. s. a day; my lord Curson and Sir William Skevyngton, ether of them at x. s. a day; my lord Mountagew, my lord Ferrers, my lord Leonard Grey, my lord Herbert, my lord Powes, Sir Richard Wyngfeld, Chauncelor of the Duchie of Lancaster, and Sir Andrew Wyndsore, knyght, Tresorer of the Warres, every of them at vj. s. viij. d. a day; lxxij. capteyns, i. tresorer of thordynaunce, j. master gonner, ij. harroldes at armes, every of them at iiij. s. a day, lxxiij. pety capteyns, j. provost of ordynaunce, j. master surgeon, j. provyder of gnydes, and ij. purcevaunts, every of them at ij. s. a day; ix. trumpetors and viij. gonners for grett peces, every of them at xvj. d. a day; j. standerberer, j. banerberer, ij. hedemen of mynors, iiij. dromeslades, ix. surgeons, j. master smyth, j. master ferror, j. master wheler, j. master horseharnessmaker, ix. hedemen pioners, j. master fletcher, j. master stringer, j. master bower, iiij. master carpenters, j. master mason, j. master plommer, j. master gonnepowdermaker, j. master bedemaker, j. master hurdelmaker, v. clerkes of thordynaunce, j. clerk to the tresorer of thordynaunce, every of them at xij. d. a day; iiij. serpentyn shoters, and ij. surgeons, every of them at x. d. a day; cccliij$^{xx}$viij. demi launces every of them at ix. d. a day; cccliij$^{xx}$ archers on horsebak, xli. smythes and ferrors, xix. whelers and horseharnesmakers, lxxviij. carpenters, iiij. stringers, iij. sawers, iiij. fletchers, xiij. bowers, iiij. masons, iiij. plommers, iiij. gonnepowdermakers, and x. servauntes to gonners, every of them at viij. d. a day; and vjm$^{l}$dcccxxvij. souldiours, ciiij$^{xx}$xix. mynors, xvj. bedemakers, m$^{l}$j pyoners, xxxiij. hurdelmakers, lj. laborers, j. mynstrell, and iij. guydes, every of them at vj. d. a day; appoynted to serve the kynges grace in the forseid army for oone moneth begon at soundre dayes in August the xv$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord—vijm$^{l}$dciiij$^{xx}$xvij. li. viij. s. viij. d. and for the wages of abode of lxiij souldiours of them that were appoynted to have gon over the se for the reenforsyng

of the forseid army, by the space of iiij. dayes at London, afore they were countermaunded homeward, every of them at vj. d. a day—vj. l. vj. s. In all, as by a boke of parcelles therof apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, vij$^{ml}$dcciij. li. xiiij. s. viij. d.

Transportyng of the seid army.

Also paied by the seid Sir John Daunce for the hier of hoicis, and other shippes for transportyng of the seid army, with hire of botes to cary men aborde the shippes, portage of men abord, and hire of brigges to sett horses into shippes, with setting over the horses belongyng to the seid army, as in the seid boke of parcelles apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, ccciiij$^{xx}$vj. li. xv. s. iij. d.

Cootes and conduyte of a crewe sent to Guysnes in July the xvj$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraign lord.

Also paied to diverse and soundre noblemen and gentilmen capteyns, for ccxxxij. cootes for ccxxxij. men, over and besydes xx. men of my lord Mountjoy which hadd no cootes, appoynted to serve our soveraign lord in a crewe sent to Guysnes for the defence of the merches ther, in the moneth of July the xvj$^{th}$ yere of his moste noble reigne; price of every coote iij. s. iiij. d. as in the boke of parcelles apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, xxxviij. li. xiij. s. iiij. d.

Also paied for the conduyting of a capteyn at iiij. s. a day, a pety capteyne at ij. s. a day, and ccxlviij. souldiours, every of them at vj. d. a day, from diverse places in this Realme wher the dwellid unto Dovor, by soundre distaunces, as in the seid boke of parcelles apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, xx. li. vj. s. vj. d.

lviij. li. xix. s. x. d.

Wages of the seid crewe.

Also, paied for the wages of oone capteyn at iiij. s. a day, one pety capteyn at ij. s. a day, and ccxlviij. souldiours every of them at vj. d. a day, appoynted to serve our seid soveraigne lord in the foreseid crewe for one moneth, begon at soundre dayes in the moneth of July in the xvj$^{th}$ yere of his most noble reigne, as in the seid boke of parcelles apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, ciiij$^{xx}$ij. li.

Transporting of the seid crewe.

Also, paied for bote hire of the forseid ccl. men a shippebord at j. d. a pece, portage of them to the botes at ob. a pece, and transporting of them to Cales at vj. d. a pece—vij. li. xvj. s. iij. d. and for thexpences of Robert Lord and his iij. servauntes rydyng to Dovor to dispach the seid men by the space of x. dayes in rydyng thether, tarying ther, and comyng home, xl. s. xj. d. In all, as by the seid boke of parcelles apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, ix. li. xvij. s. ij. d.

Soundre costes, charges, and expences:—

Also paied by the seid Sir John Daunce to diverse and soundre persones for many severall causes concernyng the kynges warres and other his affaires, within the tyme of this declaracion: That is to say: To William Gonson, Cristofer Coo, George Whitwan, Robert Applyard, George Awdeley, Petur Grysling, Robert Kyrk, Grabriell[a] Josselyn, William Throgmerton, Sir Antony Poyntz, and Hew Clerk, capteyns apon the see, for the wages and vitailles of themselffes and their retynues by soundre tymes within the tyme of this declaracion, dcccexlij. li. ix. s. iiij. d.

[a] *Sic* in MS.

ob. q. To my lord of Rocheford for a shippe called the *Anne Boleyn*, cxv. li. iiij s. To Petur Demeana, for a shippe called the *Sabra*,[a] cxv. li. iiij. s.; for wages of maryners kepyng the seid shippe by the space of one moneth, and for a bote for the same shippe, cv. s. ij. d. For vjm[l] bow-staves delyvered to Sir William Skevyngton, master of the kynges ordynaunce, cccIx. li.; xxxiiij. peces of olerons delyvered to Rychard Gibson to the kynges use, xviij. li. xiiij. s. For iiij. m[l]ciiij[xx]ix. dossen brede, diiij[xx]vj. barrelles di. floure, and m[l]lxij. pipes bere for vitailling of the kynges army under my lord of Norfolk in the xiiij[th] yere of our seid soveraigne lord, dcliij. li. xv. s. vj. d. For dcccciiij[xx]v. pipes j. hogshead j. barrell of bere delyvert to E. Weldon, for vitailling of the army under the Duke of Suffolk, price every pipe vj. s.—cciiij[xx]xv. li. xv. s. To Richard Gresham, for ccclijm[l]dcccIxxvij. lbs. of cabulles, hawsers, and cabullettes, dcc. twyne, xxxvj. last tarre, x. barrell pich, m[l]m[l] sayle nedilles, vj. dozen compasses, clx. ronnyng glasses, and lx. boltes canvas—m[l]ccccxvij. li. ix. s. x. d. To Richard Frelock for ij. roopes, called tye ropes, for the *Henry Grace Dieu*, weying m[l]m[l]cxxviij. lb. at xvj. s. the c.-xvij. li. To William Huxley for preparyng of certeyn of the kynges stuff and provysion of other stuff for the Duke of Somerset,[b] xxiij. li. x. s. ix. d. To Richard Gibson for conveyaunce of the kynges tentes to Cales, the xiiij[th] yere of our seid soveraigne lord, iiij. li.; conveyaunce of the kinges ordynaunce for tharmy under the Duke of Suffolk unto Cales, lxv. li. xj. s. vj. d. To Nycholas Tyrry, for ciiij. mastes of hym bought, lxvij. li. iij. s. iiij. d. Freight of vj. hoyes laden with ordynaunce from the parties of Flaunders into Englond, lix. li. xiij. s. iiij. d., with rewardes yeven [x. li.] to Christofer Mores and other gonners for their expences, havyng the oversight of conveyaunce of the same ordynaunce, lxix. li. xiij. s. iiij. d. To my Lord Marques of Exitor, by the name of Erle of Devon, for his diettes attendyng upon the Kyng of Dennemark, xxiiij. li. To Karlill, harrold-at-armes, for his diettes sent into Irlond, viij. li. To Richard Cauvendissh for his diettes sent into Scotlond, xiij. li. vj. s. viij. d. To my lord of Rocheford for reperacions by hym don at Tonnebrigge and Pensehurst, cc. li. ix. s. i. d. q. To Richard Cauvendisshe for the wages of a garison of gonners beyng in the Marches of Scotlond, cxxvj. li. viij. s. viij. d. To Humfrey Dicher, and other bowers, for makyng of dcclviij. bowes at vij. d. a pece, xxij. li. ij. s. ij. d. To Robert Deryk for makyng clene of m[l]m[l]ccccIxxix harnesses, xxiij. li. iij. s. ij. d. To Robert Applyard for reperacions don apon the *Mynyon* in wynter, the xv[th] yere of our soveraigne lord, beyng apon the see, x. li. xix. s. iiij. d. To John Martyn de Sancta Modia and Martyn de Cariaga for for[c] a bumbardell, ij. portepeces with iiij. chambers of one sorte, xxxvij. barrelles saltpetre, delyvered to Sir William Skevyngton, master of the kynges ordynaunce, c. li. To Fraunces Archano Archan'[d] his son, Christofer Florent', Jacano Florent', Jerom de Melan, Antony de Napoll, Michaell de Manna, Magnus de Monfera, Buttasago de Cezena, Italyons, gonners, reteyned to do the kynges grace servyce in his warres, for their wages by severall and soundre dayes, tymes, and spaces, ccvj. li. ix. s. x. d. Conduyte of vj. gonners to Berwik, lxxv. s. To my lord Edmond Haward for cootes and conduyte of hym self and his servauntes appoynted to go norward to

[a] Sabra or Zabra, a Spanish word for a ship.

[b] Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, Admiral of England, natural son of Henry VIII.

[c] *Sic* in MS.

[d] Master of the Mynes, *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII.* iii. 3288.

serve the kynges grace in his warres ayenst the Scottes, x. li. To Alexander Ewer for the wages of hymself and dyverse joynners makyng speres and demi-launces for the kynges warres, lxv. li. xvij. s. iiij. d. In reward to Angell Recaneto conductor of tharmy undre the leadyng of the duke of Suffolk for his diligente service, xx. li. To John de Lucy leiftenaunt of themperor's ordynaunce, in reward for his servyce don to the kynges grace in his warres, xl. li. For reperacions doon apon the kynges ordynaunce at Cales [xiij. li. xix. s. ix. d.] by Sir William Skevyngton and by Sir John Daunce, John Hales Baron of the Kynges Eschequyer [x. li. xv. s. ix. d.], and Cristofer Hales the kynges solicitor, xxiij. li. xv. s. vj. d. Hire of stuff for Tayllors Hall for thambassators of Scotland, with makyng clene of the same hall and other places for thambassators, xxv. li. ix. s. ix. d. To Rauff Swyllyngton, late the kynges attorney, for his expens, iiij. li., rydyng to Coventre and abydyng their for thexamynacion of the pretended Insurreccion to be doon by Fraunces Philipps and other and for dyverse costes and expences, xiiij. li. xvj. d. made by Sir Richard Sacheverell and the Mayre of Coventre concernyng the same Insurreccion, in bryngyng and sendyng up of prisoners, xviij. li. xvj. d. To William Umpton in reward for disclosyng of the same Insurreccion, xiij. li. vj. s. viij. d. To Robert Leighton, porter of the Towre, for expences of prisoners sent to Coventre to be reigned, cj. s. viij. d. To the seid Rauff Swillington for his costes rydyng in the North parties to sytte in comyssion with the Duke of Norfolk as justice of assise and gaole of delyvery by the space of xxv dayes at xij. s. a day, xv. li. To John Taillor Bailieff of Hastynges for hire of xviij. shippes, to transporte Themperors Majeste and his company from Cales into Englond, lx. li. To John Alow of Dovor for transporting of Sir William Fitz William and his company to Guysnes in October the xv$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord, lxvj. s. viij. d. To John Tomson priest of Rye for conveyaunce [of] certen Frenchmen from Rye to London, lxvj. s. viij. d. For expences of the kynges messengers rydyng throught Englond dyverse and soundre tymes with privee seales for the kynges dettes, commyssyoners bokes of the loone, and for other the kynges besynes and affaires, lij. li. iiij. d. Reward to iiij. servauntes of my late lord Marney for their costes comyng to London gevyng attendaunce to come to servyce with my lady princez, xl. s. To William Browne, theiff, for his costes reteyned for peehyng of other theiffes, xviij. s. x. d. Expences of ij. men conveying cccel. li. to Bristowe for payment of wages of dyverse persons beyng apon the see in Aprill the xv$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord, xxxix. s. iiij. d. Costes of a dyner for my lord of Suffolk and other at thexamynacion of the Bisshopp of Chestre, c. s. Costes of a dyner for the Comyssioners of the furst loone at Westminster in December the xv$^{th}$ yere, lx. s. Makyng of seates in the kynges bench at the reignyng of Fraunces Phillipps and other traitors, viij. s. vj. d. To a clerk of Bryan Tukes for wryting thact of Revennes, xx. s. Costes of Robert Hennege to Hundesdon to take possessyon for the kynges grace, xviij. s. x. d. To John Waturhouse for wryting a boke of fees and annuities in Englond and for stuff and byndyng the same boke, viij. li. xiij. s. xd. Costes and expences of Sir John Daunce, knyght, John Hales, Baron of the kynges Eshequyer, and Christofer Hales, the kynges solicitor, surveyng of Cales in the moneth of Auguste and September the xviij$^{th}$ yere of our soveraigne lord, xxxvij. li. xiij. s. xj. d. To James Flemyng for metyng and mesuryng of the kynges forest of Guysnes, cviij. s. iiij. d. For hire of a house in Southwark to ley in the kynges clapholt, xl. s. To John Lymsey oone of the sixe clerkes of the Chauncery, husbond to

[a] late the wif of John Jenyns, for the superplusage of a declaracion made for the same John, iiii$^{xx}$xvj. li. xv. s. To Richard Cauendisch for his superplusage of his declaracion made of diverse charges in the North parties, xxxiij. li. xviij. s. v. d. And also for the dyettes of the forseid Syr John Daunce at vj. s. viij. d. by the day, oone clerke at xij. d. by the day and oone other clerke at viij. d. by the day, occupied and bysied about the seid paymentes and other the kynges affaires beforseid by the space of iij. yeres duryng the tyme of the warres, cccclvj. li. v. s. And for the wages of oone clerk at xij. d. by the day, makyng payment of diverse and soundre sommes of money aftur the said warres extincted, and for makyng of bokes of parcelles concernyng the same by the space of iij. yeres, liiij. li. xv. s. In all, as by particler billes and bokes signed with thands of the forseid parties testyfying to the receipt of the sommes aforseid apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, v$^{ml}$dcccclxxvj. li. x. s viiij. d.

Money advaunced by wey of prest to dyverse persons.

Also paied and delyvered to diverse and soundre persons by wey of prest for diverse and soundre charges concernyng the kyng our soveraigne lordes warres, and other his affaires within the tyme of this declaracion. That is to sey: To John Jenyns, apon payment of the wages and vitailles of diverse shippes beyng upon the see, in February the xiiij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord, and apon other the kynges affaires, xviijm$^{l}$cccxxvij. li. ix. s. To William Lillegrave, apon the payment of garysons at Cales and Guysnes, and other the kynges affaires, ixm$^{l}$dcccclvij. li. xiij. s. iiij. d. To William Gonson, apon payment of wages and vitaylles of shippes apon the see, in Marche the xiiij$^{th}$ yere of our seid soveraigne lord, and apon diverse and other causes, xiim$^{l}$dcccclxxij. li. xi. s. x. d. To John Hopton, apon the wages of a garyson of gonners, and other charges, at Portsmouth, dcccclxi. li. xx. d. To Thomas Russhe, apon the provysion of whett for vitaillyng the kynges army into Scotland, dcc. li. To the same Thomas Russhe and Thomas Hungerford, for the same cause, dcxxxiij. li. xvij. s. iiij. d. To Nycholas Waryng, apon vitaillyng the kynges army by see, cclx. li. To Edward Madeson, apon the provysion of whett to be sent to Berwyk for vitaillyng the kynges army into Scotland, dccc. li. To William Pawne, Edward Weldon, and Thomas Hatclyff, apon vytaillyng the seid army, viij m$^{l}$cccxxij. li. xiij. s. iiij. d. To Thomas Strangeways and George Lawson, for the same causes, m$^{l}$m$^{l}$ccclvj. li. xix. s. ix. d. To Sir William Skevyngton, knyght, apon the provysion and repayring of ordnaunce, xim$^{l}$iiij. li. xvij. s. ij. d. To William Huxley, apon soundrie provysions for my lady princes and other causes, cxx. li. xvij. s. xj. d. To my Lord Sandes, apon fortyfiyng of the Castell of Guysnes, c. li. To William Stone, apon provysion of empty caske, xl. li. To Robert Deryk, to be employed apon makyng clene of harnez, cliij. li. vj. s. viij. d. To Edward Ryngeley, for conveyaunce of ordynaunce from the Toure of London to Newcastell, xxxviij. li. xj. s. To William Pawne, apon payment of wages of wurkemen at Portesmouth, iiij$^{xx}$xv. li. xj. s. vij. d. To Robert Applyard, upon the wages, vitaylles, and tondage of diverse shippes, ccccl. li. To Nycolas Hurleton, apon the dyettes and expences of the Kyng of Denmark, cccxlij. li. To Richard Gresham, apon provysion of cabulles and other roopes, m$^{l}$. li. To Thomas Spert, apon repayring the kinges shippes, ccclxxviij. li. xiij. s. iiij. d. To Thomas

[a] Blank in MS.

Jermyn, apon payment of wages of shippes at Portesmouth, m$^{l}$clxxij. li. ix. s. To my Lord Lisle,[a] apon the buldyng of a stores house at the Castell of Porchestre, and other causes, cccc. li. To Sir Herry Shirbourne, apon conduyte of xx. souldiours from London to Hull, vj. li. To William Seyntpeir, apon provysion of empty caske, xxxviij. li. vj. s. viij. d. To James Sewen, apon makyng of ii. peces of ordynaunce, xxiij. li. To Fernandus, the Quenes physicion, apon the hire and necessaries of a Spanyerd shippe, belongyng to Rodericus Goundesalvius, l. li. To William Symondes, apon the vytaillyng of diverse shippes, clx. li. To John Craford, apon vitaillyng of m$^{l}$m$^{l}$. men apon the see, undre Sir William FitzWilliam, cc. li. To Gregory Casalo, knyght, apon the reteynyng of Italyons gonners, xl. li. To Richard Palshide apon vitaillyng the kynges army by see, dccc. li. To Richard Paxford, apon the wages and vitailles of the kynges shippe called the *Lesse Barke*, clxxj. li. ij. s. iiij. d. To David Miller apon the wages and vitailles and tondage of the *Vyncent*, of Eryth, xxxvij. li. ix. s. iij. d To John Rogers apon the wages and conduyte of maryners, xiij. li. To Christofer Coo apon wages and vitailles and tonage of diverse shippes, dclxxix. li. vj. s. viij. d. To Cornelys Johnson, smyth, apon makyng of certeyn stuff for the kynges grace, cccxxij. li. v. s. vj. d. To Robert Lord apon the conduyte of certeyn souldiours that came from the crewes at Guysnes and Hammes from Dovor to ther dwellyng places, ccciiij$^{xx}$x. li. xiij. s. x. d. To William Armer, capteyn of the *Swepestake*, apon the wages and vitailles of hymself and his retynue, xxxiij. li. xv. s. ix. d. To Walter Jago, captain of the *Mawdelyn*, of Depford, apon lyke wages and vitailles, iiij$^{xx}$v. li. ij. s. vj. d. To William Nycolson, capteyn of the *Kateryn Galy*, apon lyke wages and vitailles, xxxvj. li. To Henry Pykman, Thomas Bolley, William Buksted, John Snodon, and Robert Patty, bowers, apon makyng vjm$^{l}$. bowstaves into bowes, cexx. li. xiij. s. iij. d. To Thomas Vaughan and Robert Stilman, apon transportyng the kynges army, undre the leading of my Lord Tresorer, from Dovor to Cales, l. li. To John Assheton, apon provysion of dyverse necessaries for thambassators of Scotland, xxv. li. To Sir Antony Browne, knyght, apon the cootes and conduyte of l. men which shuld have served the kynges grace, in his army undre the leadyng of the Duke of Suffolk, xv. li. xvj. s. viij. d. In all, as by the seid boke of parcelles apon this declaracion examyned it may appere, lxxiiijm$^{l}$ciiij$^{xx}$ij. li. v. s. v. d. ob.

Somme of all the paymentes, costes, charges, expences, and prestes aforeseid,
iiij$^{xx}$xix$^{ml}$dcccexxxij. li. viij. s. ix d. ob.

And so remayneth in thands of the seid Sir John Daunce apon thend of this declaracion,
clxj. li. xiij. s. vj. d. ob.

Whereof,

For the reward of Thomas Tamworth and Guthlake Overton, auditours assigned by my lord eardynalles grace to take thaccompt of the seid Sir John Daunce, as well for castyng, divyding, and trying of the forseid boke of parcelles, as for makyng, compylyng, castyng, and clere writyng of this declaracion, xx. li. In petycion.

And also for reward yeven to John Waturhouse as well for wryting the boke of surveyng of Cales as for parchement, forelles[b] and byndyng the same boke. iiij. li.

xxiiij. li.

[a] Arthur Plantagenet, natural son of Edward IV.

[b] Sheep skins used for binding. In the accounts for building the king's palace, Westminster, there is an entry "for iiij forrell skynes occupied in covering of books," bought of Wm. Bayley, of London. stationer. The word is still used in the trade.

And yet remayneth in thandes of the seid Sir John Daunce, cxxxvij. li. xiiij. s. vj. d. ob.

Per nos { Guthlacum Overton.
Johannem Mynne,
Vice, nomine, ac per mandatum magistri mei Thomae Tamworth, ipso infirmo et manu impotente.

De Johanne Daunce, milite, de denariis per ipsum debitis super determinatione duarum separalium declarationum concernentium transportationem Caroli Ducis Suffolciæ in Galliam per mare, anno xiiij° domini Regis nunc, et alia negotia domini Regis, declaratarum per eundem Johannem Daunce coram Thoma Tamworthe et Guthlaco Overton auditoribus dicti domini Regis per consilium Regium assignatis, ut per easdem duas declaraciones penes dictum Johannem Daunce remanentes plenius liquet et apparet, ut asserit; receptis per me, Brianum Tuke, militem, Thesaurarium Cameræ Regiæ, ad usum suæ serenissimæ majestatis, quinto decimo die Maii, anno regni regis Henrici Octavi xxxij$^{do}$, centum et quadraginta libris, decem et septem solidis et decem denariis—cxl. li. xvij. s. x. d.

B. Tuke.

Thomas Carmarden.

XVIII.—*On a German Astronomico-Astrological Manuscript, and on the Origin of the Signs of the Zodiac.* *By* Robert Brown, *Jun.*, *Esq.*, *F.S.A.*

Read March 10, 1881.

## Part I.— General Sketch of the MS.

The folio MS. which I have the honour to exhibit to the Society, and which has been bound in calf and vaguely lettered *Varia Curiosa*, is a fragment consisting of 45 leaves, forming ff. 197-241 of the original compilation, and appears to belong to the latter part of the fifteenth century, and to be the production of some German artist of the Augsburg school. The treatise is of an astronomico-astrological character, and commences with some general observations headed "Concerning the whole of the heavens and stars," which deal with astronomical distances, etc. The writer passes on (f. 199) to speak of the heaven of the fixed stars: "The firmament of heaven is a circle, in which circle are the fixed stars or the constellations. Under the same circle is another circle, that of the Zodiac." He then proceeds (ff. 199A-210A) to treat of the Zodiacal Signs, and mentions whether each is diurnal or nocturnal.[a] Throughout the treatise he uses the formula: "—— is a Sign of the heaven and has many stars." He then (f. 210A) treats of the Extra-zodiacal Signs, and observes:—

"You perceive the Signs are 36. The first is Ursa Minor under the North Pole, which is called by another name, Tramontane [*i. e.* because on one side of the Mons Coelius, whereon sits the Pole Star, styled in Assyrian Dayan-same, 'Judge of heaven,' and 'the Crown of heaven,' as having the highest seat or throne among the heavenly host], and which has the appearance of being under the Dragon's tail (*vide* fig. f. 212). The other is called the Southern Tramontane, which by another name is styled Ursa [=Arktos, the Sanskrit, or rather Vedic, Riksha, 'Shiner'] Major, and is stretched out behind the Dragon's head."

The two Bears are constellations of Aryan origin. The writer then enumerates

[a] He gives figures of the 12 Zodiacal Signs. That of Virgo (f. 206) is represented here, Pl. VIII.

the remaining Extra-zodiacal Signs, preserving the artificial number 36, based upon the division of each Zodiacal Sign into three parts which form the 36 Decans, the late Egyptian names of whose presiding genii are preserved by Julius Firmicus, but omitting the following Ptolemaic Signs, viz., Serpens, Sagitta, Eridanus, Lupus, Corvus, Crater, and Corona Australis, all of which, however, except the last, are introduced into the pictures. He further states the Zodiacal Sign with which each Extra-zodiacal Sign is connected in astronomical astrology, and retains the number 36 by introducing seven other figures, namely:—

I. Fig. xv. (f. 217).[a] Seven personages, four male and three female, the head of each surmounted by a star. The combination is stated to be towards the extremity of Taurus (f. 211), but the sexes of the personages do not agree with those of the mythological Hyades or Pleïades. They resemble emblematical figures of the days of the week.

II. Fig. xix. (f. 218). Vultur cadens = Sagitta, which is represented in it.

III. Fig. xxi. (f. 219).[a] This asterism, probably like Fig. xxxvi. a combination, is unknown to me.

IV. Fig. xxvii. (f. 221).[a] Astronochus (?).

V. Fig. xxviii. (f. 221A).[a] Demon Meridianus or Demonius. A personification (Daimôn = Heavenly power) of the sun's noonday position, and connected with Cancer and Capricorn (f. 211), the sun being vertical at the solstices in these two Signs. A somewhat similar figure in an Hyginus in my possession, edit. 1535, represents a different object, viz., the Circulus Lacteus, a starry ring held by a female, near whom stands another female figure apparently asleep, and probably meant for Night. The design in the MS. is curious, and the (apparently) gratuitous introduction of a male figure into the combination is noticeable. The star outside the circle is the sun, and the other stars are his reduplications.

VI. Fig. xxxv. (f. 224).[a] Unknown object. This appears to be an asterism near or forming part of Sagittarius and Capricornus.

VII. Fig. xxxvi. (f. 224).[a] The last of these unusual Signs represents a combination, viz., (1.) Regulus (*vide* f. 211), the $\alpha$ Leonis, the star at the spear-point; (2.) Two other bright stars in Leo, one of which is Deneb; and (3.) Five stars in Virgo, one of which is Spica, the $\alpha$ Virginis. The combination is stated (f. 211) to be partly in Leo and partly in Virgo.

The figures which I am unable to recognise are probably put together somewhat similarly from the catalogues of Hipparchos and Ptolemy.

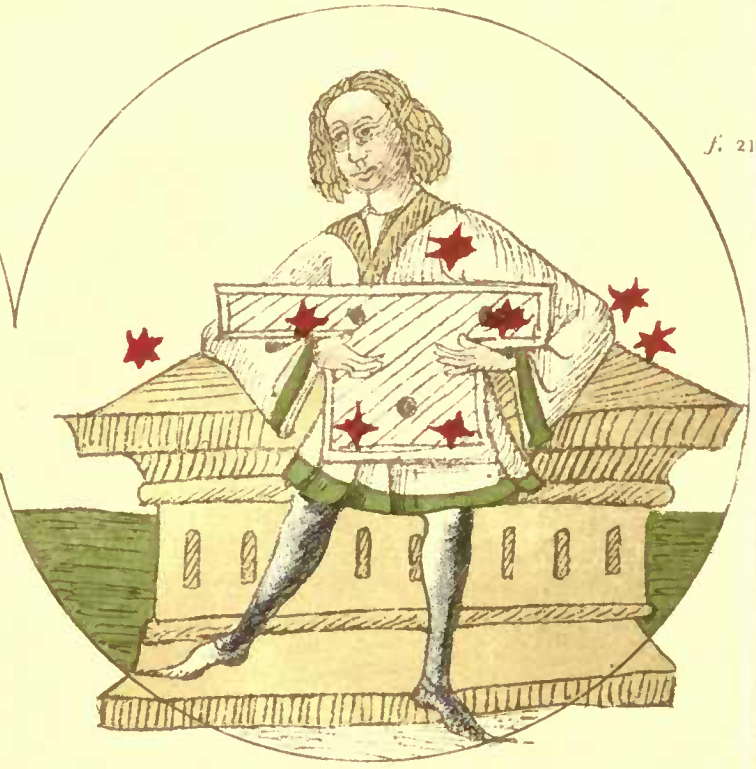
The drawings show considerable force and spirit, and, in some respects, novelty

[a] Plate VIII.

f. 206.



f. 219.



f. 217.



f. 221.



VIRGO, X D

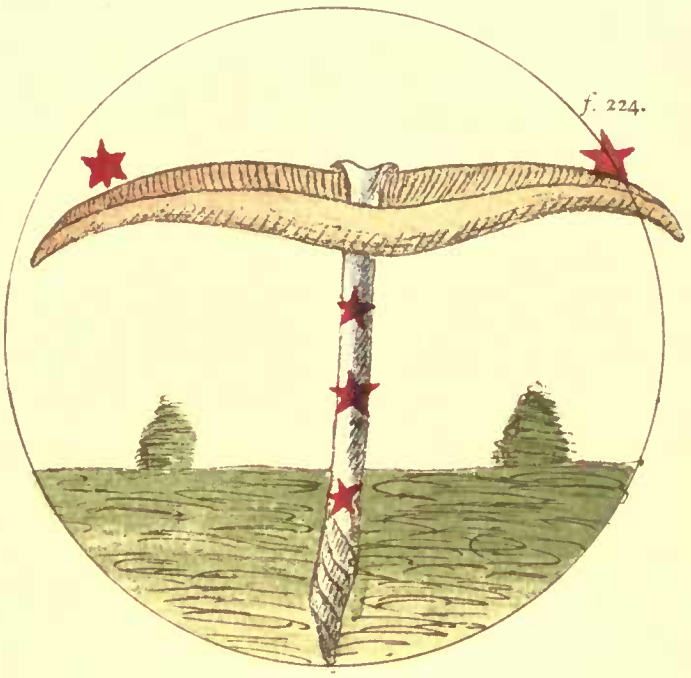
FROM AN ASTRONOMICO-ASTROLOGICAL M.S. OF T XV

*Publis by*

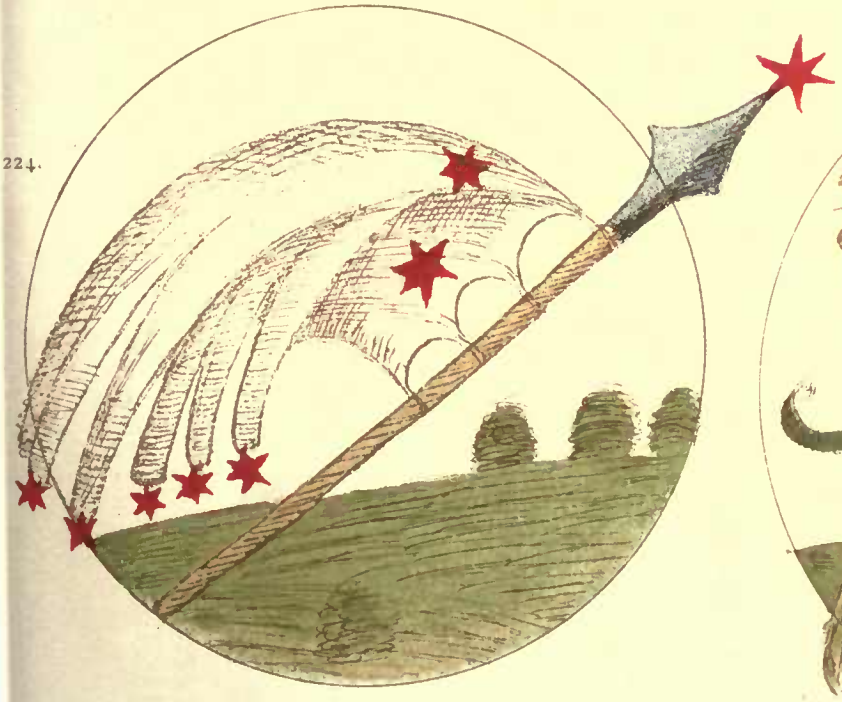
f. 221a.



f. 224.



224.



f. 222.



S AND ARA.

E SSESSION OF ROBERT BROWN JR. ESQ. F.S.A

*... of London*, 1882.

in treatment. Piscis is accompanied by a second, rather larger, fish, but the pair differ from the Zodiacal Pisces in being unattached. The engraving in the Hyginus above-mentioned shows one large fish with a little one below it.

Ara is styled Puteus (f. 222),[a] the well or pit, and beings no longer daimonic but mediævally demoniac (if I may so express the difference) are apparently about to plunge little demons into the fiery abyss. In the Hyginus Ara is represented as an altar from which flames ascend, whilst a grotesque demon is placed on either side. One of the demons, ornamented with a formidable claw and curling tail, but without legs, grasps the altar with his teeth. These monsters are the earth-born giants who assailed the gods:

> "Discordes vultu, permixtaque corpora, partus.
> Tunc Iuppiter *Arae*
> Sidera constituit."[b]

Hydra, represented as trikephalic, is combined as usual with Crater and Corvus.

The writer then proceeds to give an account of the seven ancient planets, beginning with Saturn and ending with Luna, and illustrated with symbolical figures. Each figure is accompanied by a star, the key to the design, except Luna, who has her crescent; and each, except Venus, is attended by that Zodiacal Sign in which occurs the particular planetary exaltation. Thus Saturn is attended by Libra, Jupiter by Cancer, Mars by Capricornus, Sol by Leo (the radiant leonine face), and Luna by Taurus. The wings of Virgo reappear in the *talaria* of Hermes-Mercury, and both (*vide* f. 206) hold the *caduceus*.

The exaltation of Venus is in Pisces, but I do not observe any introduction of this Sign in the representation of the planet. The goddess holds in her left hand a plume or feather, coloured green, the tint appropriated to Friday, *Dies Veneris;* and a winged Cupid, to whom she is handing her rose, stands at her right hand. To show that the planetary Venus, Ouraniê (Urania), as distinguished from Aphroditê Pandemos, is intended, the lyre is introduced, an instrument which, according to the myth, was originally formed by strings stretched across the shell of the tortoise, a creature which, as a symbol of domestic chastity, is sacred to Venus in her elevated phase.

Saturn (f. 224A), the Greater Infortune of astrologers, and from remote times regarded by several Semitic nations as a Kakodaimon,[c] shows his slow motion by his crutch and wounded leg, and his malignant disposition by the cord and noose,

Pl. VIII.

[b] Manilius, *Astronomica*, i. 435-437.

[c] *Vide* R. B., Jr., *The Great Dionysiak Myth* ii. 328, *et seq.*

sad end of those whose previous wild career is typified by the dice. His pen bears the boar, an animal the slayer of the bright Adonis, and often connec with nocturnal gloom. His sword, blue-black, a tint sacred to him, further sh his disposition; and its blade, curved at the end, reminds us of the sickle of Greek Kronos, a personage long identified with the Latin Saturnus. This sic one such as appears in the hand of Boötes (*vide* f. 214), is curiously like the wea armed with which Bel encounters the Babylonian dragon.[a]

Jupiter (f. 225) grasps his thunderbolt in his right hand; and, as planetary Jupiter, the jovial star, presided over all animals beneficial to manki he is attended by man's special ally the dog, modelled on Canis Minor (*vid* 223) and depicted white, the colour (if the word may be allowed) sacred to Roman Jupiter.

Sol (f. 226), king of heaven, with crown and sceptre, is on his meri throne, and apparently stationary for the moment or at the solstice, so that red and white horses, by pulling different ways, cause him to remain motionl His left hand holds the radiant leonine head, the lion having been always sa to him, as, astrologically, Leo, a Sign adjoining the summer solstice, is his ho The wheel constantly occurs as a solar emblem. The position and car of greatly resemble those of Auriga (f. 214A).

The silver (white) Luna, her moon-boat on her head, the true unicor being whose horns are twisted into one, and who opposes the solar lion, closes series of representations. On her white garment is portrayed the dark face the orb;[b] and, as the queen of moisture, she pours out a stream of dark water

The writer next enters upon a dissertation respecting the characteristics the twelve astrological Houses (ff. 230-233A).

A short account follows of the seven planets as rulers of various portion the world. The usual celestial Houses are assigned to each, viz., to Saturn, Ca cornus and Aquarius; to Jupiter, Sagittarius and Pisces; to Mars, Aries Scorpio; to Venus, Taurus and Libra; to Mercury, Gemini and Virgo; to Leo; and to Luna, Cancer. The writer concludes by mentioning in v quarters the Signs are hot or cold. The familiar abbreviations of the planets Signs appear in the margin. Respecting these Mr. C. W. King observes:—

[a] *Vide* a Babylonian cylinder, apud Geo. Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 95. "The *sa* or sickle-shaped sword, is always represented both in the sculptures and inscriptions as a weapon o in this war."—(*Ibid.*)

[b] As to this myth, *vide* Rev. S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, "The Man i Moon"; R. B., Jr., *The Archaic Solar-Cult of Egypt*, in *The Theological Review*, Jan. 1879, p. 37.

"Although the planets are often expressed by their emblems, yet neither they nor the Signs are ever to be seen represented on antique works by those symbols so familiar to the eye in our almanacs. Whenever such occur upon a stone it may be pronounced without any hesitation a production of the cinque-cento or the following century. . . . . As for the source of these hieroglyphs, I have never been able to trace it. They are to be found exactly as we use them in very old mediæval MSS.," and Mr. King is inclined, in default of any other origin, "to suspect they were devised by Arab sages,"[a] an opinion which I do not follow. The subject is certainly shrouded in great obscurity, and even Professor Sayce recently informed me that he had been unable "to trace the history of the zodiacal symbols up to their first appearance in Western literature."

A zodiacal gem given by Montfaucon[b] shows clearly the connexion between the abbreviations and the Signs, the former forming an inner circle.

The MS. concludes with an account (ff. 235A-241) of the effect upon man of the various planetary and zodiacal aspects and combinations.

## Part II.—On the Origin of the Signs of the Zodiac.

### I.

The progress of modern discovery enables us to approach the subject of the Zodiacal Signs, their meaning and origin, with advantages that were denied to Father Kircher and his followers; and although there is still much to learn respecting detail, yet investigation has arrived at a very definite general result. I shall not refer to the Egyptian Zodiacs of Greek and Roman times, formerly so much descanted upon, and supposed to be of great antiquity. The archaic Kamic (Egyptian) astronomy was entirely, or at all events chiefly, founded on an original native basis. Thus, in a calendar of observations discovered in royal tombs of the twentieth dynasty, circa B.C. 1200—1100,[c] we find mention of the following constellations :—

The Goose.
The Chu (probably the Pleïades).
Sept (Sothis = Sirius) "and its train."
The Two Stars.

[a] *Antique Gems and Rings*, p. 250.

[b] *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, vol. ii. part ii. pl. clxx. fig. 4.

[c] Brugsch-Bey.

The Stars of the Water.
The Many Stars.
The Lion, "with its head and tail."
The Lute-Bearer. And
The Hippopotamus.

The Thigh corresponded with the Aryan Great Bear, and the Leg is identified by Mr. P. Le Page Renouf with Cassiopeia. Sahu, another constellation, is (wholly or partly) Oriôn.[a] Nor are these Signs merely other names for the classic asterisms. Mr. Renouf identifies the Lion with *a portion* of our Zodiacal Leo, but it need not be supposed that archaic Egypt was a borrower in the matter any more than that China borrowed her Zodiacal Ox from our Taurus. Macrobius, in a well-known passage,[b] states that the Egyptians of his day called the sign Leo the "domicilium solis." Any archaic Sign of the country called the Lion would probably be identified with Leôn, on the introduction of the latter. Our Zodiacal Signs, therefore, are not to be referred to an Egyptian origin.

## II.

Another independent series of asterisms and a Zodiac is that of China and Japan. The Chinese Zodiacal Signs are :—

| | |
|---|---|
| The Tiger. | The Ape. |
| The Hare (or Rabbit). | The Cock (or Hen). |
| The Dragon. | The Dog. |
| The Serpent. | The Wild Boar (or Pig). |
| The Horse. | The Rat (or Mouse). |
| The Ram. | The Ox (or Bull). |

This is a *zodiac* indeed; but, although the latest research[c] points to a Western origin of Chinese civilization, and even (most interesting fact) to the original identity of the Chinese pictorial writing with the Akkadian Cuneiform, as both springing from one prior source, yet the Chinese Zodiac is evidently of independent origin, and none the less so because it happens to include the Ram and the Bull, which, however, are not Aries and Taurus.

[a] *Vide* Mr. Renouf in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol.* iii. 400, *et seq.*

[b] *Saturnalia*, i. 21.

[c] *Vide* M. Terrien de Lacouperie, *Early History of the Chinese Civilization*, 1880.

III.

But, excluding the very ancient civilizations of Egypt in the South and China in the far East, we find ourselves at once within the sphere of influence of our Zodiac. Its introduction to Greece took place in comparatively late times, and has been ascribed to the Pythagorean philosopher, Oinopides of Chios, probably a contemporary of Anaxagoras, and who, according to Diodoros, learnt in Egypt the knowledge of the periodical motion of the sun, and "that its course is contrary to that of the stars."[a] Eudoxos, of Cnidos, in the next century, was acquainted with the Signs as we have them, since his *Phainomena* versified forms the familiar poem of Aratos. Unfortunately the *Astrological History* of Eudemos, of Rhodes, which probably contained full particulars on the matter, has not come down to us. Sir G. C. Lewis well observes that "on the whole, the mythology of the Greeks has little connexion with the heavenly bodies,"[b] and it is to a foreign and oriental source that we must look for the origin of our Zodiacal Signs.

IV.

The Twelve Signs:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Krios, | Leôn, | Toxotês, |
| Tauros, | Parthenos, | Aigokerôs, |
| Didymoi, | Chelai,[c] | Hydrochoös, |
| Karkinos, | Scorpios, | Ichthyes; |

the Latin

Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo,
Libraque, Scorpius, Arcitenens, Caper, Amphora, Pisces;

being thus firmly established, one or two other variant Zodiacs, identical in origin, may next be noticed. Thus, the Arab copyists of classical and Hindu astronomy and astrology banished human figures from the Signs, replacing

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Gemini, Virgo, and Aquarius, | by | the Two Peacocks, the Wheatsheaf, and the Mule, |

which latter was represented carrying baskets.

A Hindu Zodiac[d] shows the twelve Signs in an outer circle, the planets in an

[a] Diodoros, i. 98.

[b] *Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 69.

[c] The Claws (of the Scorpion).

[d] *Apud* Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, pl. lxxxviii.

inner circle, and the sun in the centre. The Bull is humped, the Twins are a boy and girl; the Virgin, a goddess, sits before a fire; a man kneeling on one knee holds a small pair of Scales; the Goat, a kind of antelope, is terminated naturally, and not in the tail of a fish; and Aquarius holds in one hand a small water flask. The Crab and the Scorpion much resemble each other, as indeed they do in many other instances, the former being a reduplication of the latter.

There is now no doubt that the Hindus borrowed the Zodiac from the Greeks.[a] Thus the astronomical writer Varáha-Mihira, circa A.D. 500, renders the Greek names of the Signs by the following forms :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kriya. | Leya. | Taukshika. |
| Tavuri. | Pathona. | Akokera. |
| Jituma. | Juka.[c] | Hridroga. |
| Kulira.[b] | Kaurpya. | Ittha.[d] |

He also speaks of :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Heli (Helios). | Kona (Kronos-Phainôn). | |
| Himna (Hermes-Stilbôn). | Asphujit (Aphroditê-Paphiê). | And |
| Ara (Ares-Thourios). | Jyau (Zeus-Phaethôn). | |

Assisted by Greek learning the Hindus greatly improved their astronomy; and, in turn, reacted on the West through the Arabs, giving us, *e. g.*, our ordinary numerals, incorrectly styled Arabic.

Passing on to Persia, we find a complete list of the Zodiacal Signs in the celebrated Pahlavi work the *Bundahis* ("Kosmogony"), the text of which in its completed form is probably subsequent to the Muhammadan conquest of the country, A.D. 651, although much of its contents is in idea extremely archaic.[e] The Twelve Signs are :[f]—

| | |
|---|---|
| Varak (the Lamb). | Do-patkar (the Two-figures). |
| Tora (the Bull). | Kalakang (the Crab). |

[a] *Vide* Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, 1878, pp. 98, 229, etc.

[b] *I. e.* not Karkinos, but Kolouros, a term used by Proklos of the great circle passing through the solstitial points, and hence equivalent to Cancer.

[c] *Zugon*, the Yoke; the Claws, or rather the Scales, being considered as a yoke placed upon something. In my copy of Hyginus the Scorpion holds the Scales in one claw. Achilleus Tatios mentions that the sign known as Libra was previously called the Claw of the Scorpion. [d] *Ichthys.*

[e] *Vide* R. B., Jr., *The Religion of Zoroaster considered in connexion with Archaic Monotheism*, 1879.

[f] *Bundahis*, ii. 2, *apud* West, *Pahlavi Texts*, part i.

| | |
|---|---|
| Sêr (the Lion). | Nimasp (the Sagittary). |
| Khusak (the Virgin). | Vahic (the Sea-goat). |
| Tarâzuk (the Balance). | Dûl (the Water-pot). |
| Gazdum (the Scorpion). | Mahik (the Fish). |

The *Shâyast Lâ-Shâyast* ("The Proper and Improper") also, another old Pahlavi work, a sort of *Stromata* or Miscellany, treats in the twenty-first chapter of "the midday shadow," as affected by the progress of the sun through the Signs, which are those of our Zodiac.

Here, again, we see the result of Greek contact, as there is no mention of the Signs in the *Avesta* ("Divine Law") itself.

V.

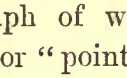
I have now referred in this connexion to every archaic eastern centre of civilization except that of the Tigra and Uprato (Euphrates) Valley; but, before noticing the recent discoveries of Professor Sayce and others in this most interesting field, I would remark that we must discard alike ancient (as distinguished from archaic), mediæval, and modern customary explanations of the Zodiacal Signs, some of which explanations (?) are noticed by Mr. Fowler in his very valuable Tractate *On Mediaeval Representations of the Months and Seasons*.[a] Thus, whilst agreeing with Laplace that "the names of the constellations of the Zodiac have not been given to them by chance," we may emphatically reject his dictum that "they embody the results of a large number of researches and of astronomical systems." On the contrary, archaic ideas connected with natural phenomena, though often exceedingly obscure to us on account of our ignorance of the particular standpoint of early thinkers, are invariably distinguished by a really great simplicity, being natural impressions drawn by an analogy often indeed erroneous but to them obvious, from still simpler experiences. The Balance, we have been told, "marks the equality of the days and nights at the equinoxes." Possibly; but the Balance is just the one sign not truly archaic, and I think we shall find that quite another class of reasons operated in the selection of objects.

Again, all explanations based upon Greek or Egyptian agriculture, or the state of those countries at particular seasons of the year, may be set aside, inasmuch as the Zodiac originated elsewhere.

[a] *Archaeologia*, XLIV. 202-203.

## VI.

That our Zodiacal Signs are connected with the names given by the Akkadai ("Highlanders"), the Pre-Semitic inhabitants of the Uprato Valley, to the several months of the year, is now beyond reasonable doubt. Thus—

1. In the British Museum is a fragment of a circular planisphere, which once contained the names of the months and the Zodiacal Signs presiding over each.[a] Only two are now legible, and one reads *Marchesvan kakkab* (Heb. *kôkhâbh*) *girtab*, "(the month) Marchesvan [the Aramaic name, called in Assyrian Arakh-samna, 'the eighth month,' and roughly answering to our *October*], the constellation of the Scorpion."[b] The Akkadian word *girtab* is composed of *gir*, the cuneiform ideograph of which is  originally pictorially representing a "blade," "sting," or "pointed tail,"[c] and *tab*, "to seize." *Girtab* is, therefore, "the Seizer-and-stinger."

2. The Assyrians, like the Jews, adopted the Aramaic Calendar, which was in turn derived from that of Akkad, and began with Nisan, which answers to our March-April. The year consisted of twelve months of thirty days each, with an intercalary month every six years. Each month was dedicated to one or more divinities, as in Greece separate divinities presided over each of the Signs.[d] Prof. Sayce gives the following list of the Akkadian names of the months and their rulers:—

[a] Cf. the instrument found by Geo. Smith in the palace of Sennacherib. "In this the heavens and the year are represented by the circular form of the object, and round the circumference it was originally divided into twelve parts corresponding to the twelve signs of the zodiac and the twelve months of the year, the number of degrees in each being marked" (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 407). The similar division of the day came to the West from the same source. "The sundial, and the gnomon with the division of the day into twelve parts, were received by the Greeks from the Babylonians" (Herod. ii. 109. Canon Rawlinson's Translation).

[b] *Vide* H. F. Talbot in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol.* iv. 260-261. [c] Prof. Sayce.

[d] The Hellenico-Roman Guardians of the Signs were:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Of Aries, Athena-Minerva. | Libra, Hephaistos-Vulcanus. |
| Taurus, Aphrodite-Venus. | Scorpio, Ares-Mars. |
| Gemini, Apollo. | Sagittarius, Artemis-Diana. |
| Cancer, Hermes-Mercurius. | Capricornus, Hestia-Vesta. |
| Leo, Zeus-Jupiter. | Aquarius, Hera-Juno. |
| Virgo, Dêmêtêr-Ceres. | Pisces, Poseidôn-Neptunus. |

This connexion is worthy of a careful analysis. The link between the "ever-young" (Hephaistos = Juvenis, Sanskrit Yavishtha) Fire-King and the Balance is purely arbitrary; but, between the Fire-King (Vulcan = Sk. *ulkâ*, "fire," "flame," "celestial fire") and the solar Altar (*vide inf.*), is obvious.

| Name. | Meaning. | Presiding Divinity. | Aramaic Month. | English Month. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Bara ziggar* | The Sacrifice of Righteousness | Anu[a] and Bel | Nisan | March-April |
| *Khar sidi* | The propitious Bull | Hea | Iyyar | April-May |
| *Kas* | The Twins | Sin | Sivan | May-June |
| *Su kulna* | The Seizer of Seed | Adar[b] | Tammuz | June-July |
| *Ab ab-gar* | The Fire that makes fire | The Queen of the Bow (?) | Ab | July-August |
| *Ki Gingir-na* | The Errand of Istar | Istar | Elul | August-September |
| *Tul cu* | The Holy Altar | Samas | Tisri | September-October |
| *Apin am-a* | The Bull-like Founder (?) | Merodach | Marchesvan | October-November |
| *Ganganna* | The Very-cloudy | Nergal | Chisleu | November-December |
| *Abba uddu* | The Father of Light | Papsukul[c] | Tebet | December-January |
| *As a-an* | Abundance of Rain | Rimmon[d] | Sebat | January-February |
| *Se ki-sil* | Sowing of Seed | The Seven Great Gods | Adar | February-March |

Lastly, *Se dir*, the "Dark (month) of Sowing," dedicated to Assur, and termed in Aramaic, Ve-Adar, and in Assyrian, Arakhu-makru, "the Incidental-month."

M. Lenormant gives the list:—

| Noms Symboliques. | | Signes Correspondants du Zodiaque. |
|---|---|---|
| Formes Complétes. | Formes Abrégées. | |
| L'autel du démurge | L'autel | Bélier |
| Le taureau propice | Le taureau | Taureau |
| La fabrication des briques | La brique / Les jumeaux | Gémeaux |
| Le bienfait de la semence | Le bienfait | Écrevisse |
| Feu faisant feu | Le feu | Lion |
| Le message d'Ischtar | Le message | Vierge |
| Le tumulus pur | Le tumulus | Pinces du scorpion |
| Ouvrant la fondation | La fondation | Scorpion |

[a] The Akkadian Ana, Anu-Malik (2 *Kings*, xvii. 31) or "King Anu," called "the God of Heaven," head of the first Triad, Pater, the Anos of Damaskios, the equivalent of the Aryan Varuna-Ouranos. The Neo-Platonic doctrine of the triadic catena of divinities is Chaldeo-Akkadian in origin.

[b] Adar-Malik, "King Adar" (2 *Kings*, xvii. 31), called "the Sun of the South," the Sandon of Asia Minor, a divinity somewhat resembling the Hellenic Herakles, and probably *simidan*, "the zenith."

[c] The obscure Papsukul is probably identical, at least in some phases, with the planet Saturn, one of whose houses is Capricorn, the Sign of the month; Papsukul is called "the Black Star"; and Saturn, Sakus-Utu, "the eldest-born of the Sun-god," is similarly styled Mi, "the black," and Kus, "darkness." In Assyrian the planet is called Kaivanu, Heb. Kiyyûn (Chiun, Amos, v. 26), Arabic Keyvân.

[d] Ramanu, the Air-god, who presides over the rainy diurnal heaven (Aquarius); orginally a phase of the Sun-god as the sender of rain, like the Vedic Indra.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Les nuages épais | Le nuage | Sagittaire |
| La caverne du lever (du soleil) | La caverne | Chèvre |
| La malédiction de la pluie | La malédiction | Verseau |
| La déposition des semailles | Les semailles | Poissons |

Further research has somewhat altered several readings. Thus Mr. Theo. G. Pinches of the British Museum kindly informs me that Nin-gis-zi-da, translated "the Queen of the Bow," = lady + hear + righteous, meaning, I presume, "the lady who hears the righteous," and that the corrected reading of the eighth month is *Apin dûa*, "the Place where one bows down." One or two other differences are noticed subsequently, but it is unnecessary to enter here into small technical details which do not affect the general result.

## VII.

In these Akkadian month-names we find, as Prof. Sayce has pointed out, nearly all the Zodiacal Signs. Taurus is "the propitious Bull." The ideograph for Kas, the Twins, is ♈, naturally meaning "two," "second," and "double"; and to this I venture to refer our present familiar Zodiacal abbreviation ♊, which, I think, is unconnected with the Etruscan (Roman) numeral. The Crab, or some similar creature, is referred to under the title of "Seizer of Seed." The solar Lion clearly appears in the title of the next month. Istar, Astartê, whose name is familiar in the plural form Ashtaroth, is the original Virgo. The eleventh month, with its abundance of rain, betokens Aquarius; and Prof. Sayce, with brilliant intuition, has explained how the twelfth month is connected with Pisces. The god Merodach[a] had different names in different months,[b] and in Adar was called Kha Hea, "the Fish of Hea"; thus "the double month Adar and Ve-Adar would be the origin of the double Pisces."[c] Its connexion with the "sowing of seed" finds a last echo in the statement of the modern astrologer that the Sign is "exceedingly fruitful and luxuriantly productive." Greek mythological legend connected Pisces with the Euphrates.[d]

[a] Marduk, son of Hea, and patron divinity of Babylon (cf. Jeremiah, l. 2); his consort is Zirat-Banit (Succoth-Benoth, 2 *Kings*, xvii. 30).

[b] Tablet, *Cun. Ins. West. Asia*, III. liii. 2.

[c] Prof. Sayce in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol.* iii. 166.

[d] Cf. Hyginus, "Quodam tempore Venerem cum Cupidine in Syriam ad flumen Euphratem," etc. (*De Signorum Historiis*, lib. ii. in voc. *Pisces*).

The five remaining Signs are Aries, the lost Sign now represented by Libra, Scorpio (which we have already met with in these regions), Sagittarius and Capricornus; and we learn from the instance of Pisces that the Akkadian month-name does not necessarily express the corresponding Zodiacal Sign. The Spring would always mark one very natural commencement of the year, and up to about B.C. 2400 the sun entered Aries, the leader and prince of the signs, at the vernal equinox. We may doubtless understand with Prof. Sayce, who quotes *Genesis*, xxii. 13, in illustration, the Ram as "the sacrifice of righteousness." But, further, M. Lenormant[a] quotes a passage[b] which shows that the star *a* Arietis, called in Akkadian Dil-kur, "Dawn-proclaimer," commenced the year. On this he remarks:

"Les signes du zodiaque chaldéen n'ont pas pu être dénommés avant qu'il en fût ainsi, puisque ceux du lion et du verseau, à tout le moins, doivent leurs appellations aux conditions climatériques, l'un de juillet-août, l'autre de décembre-janvier, et que le bélier tire la sienne de cette circonstance qu'il est celui qui ouvre la marche de l'année. Il est, comme on disait en accadien, le *lulim* [*lit.* 'sheep-eye.' The ideograph ⟨|⊢ was originally a drawing of an eye], c'est-à-dire 'le bélier de tête' du troupeau des astres de la bande zodiacale."

The stars were regarded by a pastoral population as flocks; each asterism had its special leader, and the star, and subsequently the constellation, that led the heavens through the year was *the* Ram. The Homeric king is a sheep-leader, and we remember the famous ram of Polyphemos "ever the foremost."

## VIII.

It will be observed that there is not the slightest connexion between *Tul* (= *dhul*, *dul*), *cu* (= *ku*), "the Holy Altar," or "le tumulus pur," and either the Balance or the Claws of the Scorpion. As to the name of the month, *tul* signifies "mound," and *ku* "precious," and hence, "sacred." "An altar of earth"[c] may have been originally the "sacred mound." A remarkable conical black Babylonian Stone of the twelfth century B.C., and now in the British Museum, though not strictly zodiacal, is certainly uranographic in character.[d] In the centre are placed two solar circles representing the male and female sun, and a

[a] *Les Origines*, i. 263, note 2.

[b] *Cun. Ins. West. Asia*, III. lii. 3.

[c] Cf. *Exodus*, xx. 24.

[d] *Vide* two representations of this Stone in Canon Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, 2nd edit., 3 vols., 1873, ii. 573-574.

third circle for the moon, showing the crescent in combination with the full moon. The character of the representation is thus absolutely determined; and in a circle around these three central figures are placed various other figures, including an Arrow, a Dog, and a Great Serpent, three Signs which by no means necessarily represent any classical constellations, as they might have been naturally used in any independent scheme. The Stone also represents five Altars, which show three designs, two of them being exactly alike, and side by side.

Now we are aware that several of the familiar abbreviations of the Zodiacal Signs represent *a part* of the original figure, in accordance with a common principle in symbolism, which principle is in its turn based upon the almost all-pervading Law of Least Effort. As our letter A is in origin merely a bull's horns, a part of the animal standing for the whole, so ♈ = the horns of Aries, ♉ the horns and face of Taurus (this is very clearly shown on some gems), and ♌ the tail of Leo. Now ♎, the Sign or abbreviation for Libra, so far as the upper line is concerned, may be said to represent vaguely a portion of a balance, but the lower line cannot by any reasonable exercise of ingenuity be pressed into this service. The tops of the two similar Altars on the stone in question are represented thus (Fig. 1), some conical object being shown on each. Here, taking a part for the whole, we have ♎ as an exact abbreviation for "the Holy Altar," and also as a form which may have suggested the idea of a balance: and though I do not venture to apply to this conjecture the Laureate's dictum that

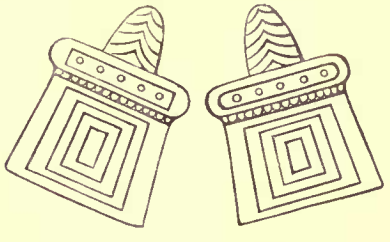


Fig. 1.

"The golden guess
Is morning-star to the full round of truth;"

yet a certain amount of conjecture is a necessity in such an inquiry; and, further, on the Stone immediately above one of the Altars, and between it and the sun, is an excellent representation of the Scorpion, the adjoining Zodiacal Sign. The divinity of the month is Samas,[a] the sun-god; and the fire on the earthly altar responds to his heavenly flame.

[a] Heb. Shemesh. So Heliopolis is translated Beth-Shemesh (*Jeremiah*, xliii. 13), "House of the Sun"; and its patron divinity was Harmakhu, the Horizon-sun.

## IX.

I pass on to the next Sign, Scorpio, already referred to, and which appears on the Stone in question thus (Fig. 2).


Fig. 2.

Amongst other composite figures represented on the cylinders are Scorpion-men;[a] and when the ancient Chaldean hero Izdubar or Gisdhubar is on his travels, he meets with a gigantic bicorporeal Scorpion-couple whose heads reach heaven, whilst their feet are below the Underworld. They were the solar guardians, and an echo of this very archaic idea appears on the Stone, where the Scorpion is placed near the sun. They

> "each day guard the rising sun.
> Their crown was at the lattice of heaven,
> Under the Underworld their feet were placed.
> The Scorpion-man guarded the gate.
> Their appearance was like death.
> At the rising of the sun and the setting of the sun they guarded the sun.
> The Scorpion-man of his female asked," etc.[b]

To be brief; the Scorpion in the first instance represents Darkness, colossal in height and boundless in extent, and which, like Chaos, is frequently personified in monstrous and drakontic form.[c] But when the principle of kosmic harmony is grasped by the mind of archaic man,[d] the scorpion that erst stung the bright light to death becomes its guardian and watches over it at morn and eve. In perhaps the oldest chapter of the Egyptian *Funereal Ritual*, the sixty-fourth,[e] we find it stated that when

> "Har [Horus] has made his [solar] eye illumine the world,
> The Scorpions repose, fallen on their backs."

---

[a] *Vide* Geo. Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 262. Mr. C. W. King gives a gem on which Scorpio and Caper are united, making a composite monster (*Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. ii. pl. xvi. fig. 6).

[b] *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, pp. 248-249.

[c] *Vide* the original Chaldean account of Bel and the Dragon.

[d] Cf. Prof. Max Müller on the Vedic Rita (*Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, 1878, p. 237, *et seq.*); and Mr. P. le Page Renouf on the Kamic Maât (*Ibid.* 1879, p. 119, *et seq.*)

[e] *Vide* the translation by Dr. Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt's Place* (Eng. Trans.), vol. v.

*i. e.* the Darkness, morning and evening (two Scorpions, a gigantic couple) retires and rests. Elsewhere in the *Ritual* the Scorpion is spoken of as "the Daughter (=Successor) of the Sun," and in a third passage the Osirian, or Individual Soul who is following Osiris, exclaims:

> "I have come, like the Sun, through the gate of the Sun-goers [*i. e.* the western horizon], otherwise called the Scorpion."[a]

Thus the Scorpion here = the Western Darkness, or Gloom-after-sunset, *i. e.* Erebos, a word derived from the Assyrian *eribu*, "to descend," as the sun, and which appears in the names *Ereb* (Europe), the sunset side of the world, and *Arab*, or the dweller west of the Perath (Euphrates) Valley.[b] So the Homeric Cave of Skyllê looks "towards the West [*i. e.*] to Erebos."[c]

The Akkadian name of the corresponding month is, it will be observed, somewhat differently interpreted by the three Assyriologists quoted. Prof. Sayce and M. Lenormant associate it with the idea of "foundation," and the former remarks that "M. Ernest de Bunsen has shown that Scorpio was taken as the starting point of the primitive calendar, and it is this fact which seems to be referred to."[d] Be M. Bunsen's view correct or not, certain it is that primeval darkness is always regarded as the foundation and precursor of light; and so we read in the very archaic seventeenth chapter of the *Funereal Ritual*:—

> "The Age [*i. e.* lighted period, light alone making time] is the Day;
> Eternity is the Night."

But if Mr. Pinches, who has fully examined the text, is correct in the rendering "the place where one bows down," then the western abode of Scorpio will probably have been originally regarded as the place where the sun daily "stoops his head as low as death," as he "gallops the zodiac in his glistering coach;"[e] for man marked the course of day and night long ere he advanced to the concept of a year, and the Scorpion, like other Signs, had been elsewhere placed by his imagination ere it was transferred to the circle of the Zodiac.

The myth of the hero Oriôn, originally solar and slain by a mysterious Scorpion,[f] a story Akkadian in origin, further illustrates the line of idea.[g]

[a] *Vide* R. B., Jr., *The Archaic Solar-Cult of Egypt.*

[b] *Vide* R. B., Jr., *The Religion of Zoroaster*, p. 17, note 2.

[c] *Odysseia*, xii. 81.

[d] *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol.* iii. 163.

[e] *Titus Andronicus*, ii. 1.

[f] Apollodoros, i. iv. 3; Ovid, *Fasti*, 541-543.

[g] For a detailed examination of this very interesting and important myth, *vide* R. B., Jr., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 270-285. The curious position of the Scorpion in connexion with the Mithraic Bull is familiar. "Scorpios inguine gaudet" (Manilius, *Astronomica*, ii. 462).

X.

The next Sign is Sagittarius, the month that of "thick clouds," and the presiding divinity Nergal[a] (= *nir*, "lord," + *gula*, "great"), the "great lord," "the storm ruler," and so appropriate to the season of the year, and "the god of the chase," whose emblem is the bicorporeal man-lion. Mr. Pinches informs me that he has "never met with representations of the Centaur," but that "there are emblems which may represent Sagittarius;" indeed the Arrow on the Stone above mentioned may represent him, as ♐ does in our present arrangement. But Chaldeo-Akkadian research is yet in a comparatively early stage; future discoveries will clear up many present obscurities, and meanwhile we must be careful not to strain evidence or apparent resemblances. I will therefore merely add here a familiar but highly suggestive passage from Berosos, which should be carefully considered in connexion with the two bicorporeal Signs. Speaking of the primeval darkness and chaos (the Scorpion and Dragon period) he says:—

"Other human figures were to be seen with the legs and horns of goats [satyrs]; some had horses' feet, while *others united the hind quarters of a horse with the body of a man*, resembling in shape the hippocentaurs. Bulls likewise were bred there with the heads of men, and dogs with fourfold bodies, *terminated in their extremities with the tails of fishes* [like Capricorn]. Men too and other animals with the heads and bodies of horses and the tails of fishes. In short *there were creatures in which were combined the limbs of every species of animals*, of all which *were preserved delineations* in the temple of Belos."[b]

XI.

The remaining sign is Capricornus, and the passage of Berosos shows how familiar such a representation would be to Chaldean idea; but the Sea-goat actually appears on the black Stone above mentioned, thus (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3.

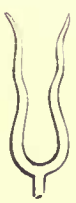


Fig. 4.

Over the back of the Goat, but separate from it, are placed his horns on a larger scale, thus (Fig. 4.), an admirable illustration of the representation of the whole by a

[a] *Vide* 2 *Kings*, xvii. 30.

[b] *Chaldaika*, i. 4.

part. These horns compare somewhat remarkably with those of Capricorn in the German MS. and the persistence and fixity of type through so many centuries is very singular. Prof. Sayce reads the name of the month somewhat doubtfully "the father of light"; his doubt, however, is apparently not one of translation, but is contained in the observation, "It is difficult to understand how it can have been called a month of light, as the inscriptions show that it was stormy and wet." I have suggested that the month might be called the father of light, as producing the infant Sun at the winter solstice,[a] the Christmas yule (= Old Norse *hjul*, "wheel"), an event around which many ancient ceremonies and ideas cluster. The reading, *abba uddu*, is agreed upon, and as the Akkadian *ab*, *abba*, is equivalent to the Assyrian *kabtu*, "the deep," M. Lenormant render it "la caverne," the sun being born at this season, like the Baktrio-Persian Mithra (Mithras), the Vedic Mitra, from a cave.[b] *Ud*, *ut*, *utu*, is the Assyrian *samsu*, "the sun," "dawn," etc. ideographically represented thus: , poor remains of the solar circle, which is traceable through successive forms thus: ○, , , , , all writing having been originally simply and purely pictorial. Prof. Sayce also notices that *abba* may signify "hollow," "and in the latter sense is joined with *a*, water, to denote the sea." Not to pursue the subject into further detail, it is clear that the name of the month refers to the birth of light, whether from the month, from a cave, or from the sea.

Now the Fish-Sun, of whom Apollo Delphinios is probably the most prominent Aryan example, is a concept familiar to the mythologist, and one which arose in the most natural and obvious manner from seeing the solar photosphere rise from and descend into the ocean. Not to leave Chaldean regions we have the remarkable myth of the Fish-god Ea-chan, "Hea the Fish," the Oês of Helladios, and the Aös of Damaskios, the Neo-Platonist, and whose name has been preserved in full by Hyginus as Euhadnes or Euahanes, "qui in Chaldaea de mari exisse dicitur."[c] This is Oannês, prototype of Dagon, and the lord of wisdom and of the deep; and, as noticed, the solar Merodach is sometimes styled "the Fish of Hea." Probably in the original concept of Capricorn, long ere he became a

[a] Cf. "the Danish superstition that from Yule-Day to New Year's Day *nothing that runs round may* be put in motion" (Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, iii. 99).

[b] Cf. Porphyry, "Euboulos says, Zoroaster was the first who consecrated in the mountains of Persia a cave in honour of Mithra" (*Peri tou en Od. tôn Nymph. Ant.* sec. 2). "Wherever Mithra was known, they propitiated the god in a cavern" (*Ibid.* sec. 9). The Mithraic cave = "the mysterious cavern" of Egyptian solar mythology.

[c] *Fab.* cclxiii.

Zodiacal Sign, we see an archaic view of the sun, bicorporeal, as half in the water (demi-fish) and half out, climbing up the eastern steep like a goat,[a] and, to use the expression of Jeremy Taylor, "thrusting out his golden horns."[b] The goat, I may add, is an animal sacred to the solar Dionysos, and the *aigis* of Athena, the Dawn-goddess, with its border of golden tassels and fringe of serpents of light, will also be remembered. The Vedic solar divinity Pushan, "the Growth-producer,"[c] has a car drawn by goats;[d] and to the chariot of the mighty Thorr are harnessed the two goats of light, Tanngnjost ("Teeth-gnasher"), and Tanngrisnr ("Fire-flashing-teeth"). Prof. Angelo de Gubernatis, having analysed various Aryan goat-myths, sees "in the goat and her kids the sun horned or furnished with rays as it issues radiant out of the cloud, or darkness, or ocean of night."[e]

Respecting the name of the month Tebet, M. Lenormant remarks that it is "emprunté manifestement à la chèvre zodiacale, mais qui ne peut avoir cette signification que dans l'idiome araméen exclusivement."[f] Mr. Pinches, however, has observed to me that he does "not think the word Tebet can be connected, scientifically, with any word meaning goat." If M. Lenormant be correct on the point, it is another remarkable link between the month and Capricorn.

## XII.

Although the subject is probably still in its infancy, there can, I think, be no doubt respecting the quarter whence our Zodiacal Signs were derived;[g] and, further, that definite ideas were connected with the several Signs before, in the progress of astronomical science, the year was revealed and the months had different Signs allotted to them. The sun would be regarded as a Ram, a Lion, a

[a] "Le verbe grec *ἀΐσσω*, qui signifie s'élancer, a fait d'une part le substantive *αἴξ*, chèvre, à cause de la nature bondissante de l'animal" (Bréal, *Hercule et Cacus*, p. 116.)

[b] *Holy Dying*, p. 17.

[c] Prof. Tiele.

[d] *Vide* Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, v. 171, *et seq.*

[e] *Zoological Mythology*, i. 407.

[f] *Les Origines*, p. 265, note 1.

[g] That a zodiacal cult obtained at one period in the kingdom of Judah is almost certain from 2 *Kings*, xxiii. 5. Incense was burnt to sun and moon, to the Mazzâloth (A. V. "planets") and to all the host of heaven. Mazzâloth is evidently a variant form for the Mazzâroth of Job, xxxviii. 32, the Assyrian Mazarati, "the Constellations which marked the watches of the night by coming successively to the meridian" (H. F. Talbot in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol.* i. 341). Philo Judaeus applies the stars of Joseph's dream to the Zodiacal Signs (*On Dreams being sent from God*, bk. ii. cap. 16.)

Horse, an Archer (Horse + Archer = Sagittarius), a Goat, a Fish[a] (Goat + Fish = Capricorn), long ere the formation of a Zodiac; just as Oriôn was solar ere he became an asterism. And, similarly, the nocturnal phase would be represented by the Moon (male), both horned and full (☽ + ○ = ♉, Taurus), the planetary Virgo, the Darkness (Scorpio), and so on. Astrologers have stated for ages that some Signs are diurnal and others nocturnal,[b] but what may have been the original meaning of the statement not even the learned Robert Flud, the Rosicrucian, could have had the slightest conception. Yet I believe that the description is, in a manner, a true one; and that their pristine diurnal and nocturnal character was, probably, somewhat as follows:—

1. Aries (diurnal), "aurato vellere," is the Dawn-sun, who announces the light.[c]

2. Taurus (nocturnal) is the Moon-power. In illustration of this connexion we find Porphyry remarks that the priestesses of Dêmêtêr, according to ancient

[a] Similarly he appears as a Bull, a Giant, a Traveller, a Hawk, a Lock of shining hair, the Flame that lights the kosmic wick, a Serpent (Time)-slayer, a Ship, etc. In a copy of Cartari's *Imagini*, 1571, in my possession, is a curious old picture of the Sun-god on the poop of his ship, surrounded by his sailors, the vessel itself resting on the Time-dragon, the legendary Kampê ("Caterpillar," *i. e.* turning, twisting creature, slain by Dionysos: Apollodoros, I. ii. 2; Diodoros, iii. 72). Porphyry observes, "The Egyptians represent all daemons, and also the sun and all the planets, not standing on anything solid, but on a sailing vessel." (*Peri Nymph. Ant.* sec. 4. Cf. Iamblichos, *Peri Mysteriôn*, vii. 2). The bark of the Kamic Sun-god Ra is a familiar feature, both in hymns and in pictorial representation. Montfaucon (*L'Ant. Expliq. Supplement*, vol. ii. pl. XLII.) gives a fine figure of a "Serapis (= Osor-Hapi, "Deceased Apis") Soleil." The god, who was introduced into Kam from Sinopê by Ptolemaios Sotêr (cf. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* iv. 4), stands upright enveloped in the coils of the Kampê, radiate, and wearing upon his head the *medimnos* or corn-measure, denoting the fertility produced by the solar beams. Upon his vestment are depicted the Signs of the Zodiac, the Bull, Lion, Scorpion, and Urn, being in front one below another, divided by the serpentine folds. The Ram and Twins are also shown, and parts of the remaining Signs except the Balance.

[b] On the question as to which Signs were diurnal and which nocturnal, there were (naturally enough, in the absence of any test) numerous and conflicting opinions. I follow the usual and I think the better one:—

> "Sunt quibus esse diurna placet, quae mascula surgunt;
> Femineam sortem noctis gaudere tenebris."
>
> Manilius, *Astron.* ii. 221-222.

[c] Cf. the following passage from the Egyptian *Litany of Ra* (translated by M. Edward Naville in the *Records of the Past*, viii. 103, *et seq.*):—

"Homage to thee, Ra! Supreme power, he who enters and comes forth continually from his highly mysterious [Mithraic] cavern [the Underworld].

"He who raised his head and who lifts his forehead, *the Ram, the greatest of the creatures.*"

custom, called "the moon, who presides over generation, a bull," and adds, "and Taurus is the exaltation of the moon." [a]

3. Gemini (diurnal). The Aryan twins are Castor and Pollux, "the Great Twin Brethren," the Western equivalents of the mysterious Vedic Asvins, who announced the dawn. The Chaldeo-Akkadian Twins are very probably the moon and sun. There is an archaic myth attached to the month respecting two hostile brothers,[b] and the building of the first city, and therefore the month is also called that of brick making, and the Moon-god (Deus Lunus), as the Building-god,[c] is in the formal scheme its patron divinity.[d]

4. Cancer (nocturnal). It is probably very doubtful whether a *crab* was the original Sign, but the creature is connected with the moon,[e] and hence with night. The crab who seizes may be merely originally a variant of the Scorpion who stings. They are frequently not greatly unlike each other in ancient representations, and often show a curious conventional treatment.

5. Leo (diurnal). The fierce midday sun, radiate.[f] He becomes Dumuzi (Tammuz-Adonis), whom Istar seeks in the Underworld.

6. Virgo (nocturnal). Istar, queen of the planet Venus, the two phases, Istar of Ninua (Nineveh), and Istar of Arbela, probably representing the morning and evening star.[g]

[a] *Peri Nymph. Ant.* sec. 8.

[b] Perhaps the Lion-Sun and Unicorn-Moon. Sun and Moon are only seen together by day.

[c] Sin, whose name probably appears in Mount Sinai, the Moon-god and "eldest son of Bel," is "the lord of building," "the supporting architect," and "the strengthener of fortifications." The moon is a great supporter of kosmic harmony (vide *The War of the Seven Evil Spirits against Heaven*, translated by H. F. Talbot in *Records of the Past*, v. 161, *et seq.*), and assistant in building up the Universe in order.

[d] Vide Lenormant, *Les Origines*, cap. iv. "On the Fratricide and the Foundation of the First City."

[e] As marine. Cancer is astrologically "the House of the Moon." Cf. also the following curious statement:—

"It is an observation amongst fishermen, that when the moon is in her decrement or wane these sort of fishes have little or no substance in them, which moveth them to forbear to fish for them in that season, in regard that the moon is the naturall and secondary cause, that the crabs of the sea are either full and plum or else sheare and (after a sort) empty" (Guillim, *A Display of Heraldrie*, 4th edition, 1660, p. 238). Archaic myths frequently linger amid heraldry, as *e.g.* the contest of lion and unicorn, and of lion and leopard, which latter curious story, as given by Guillim (*Ibid.* p. 255), I have fully analysed in the *Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 9, *et seq.*

[f] "*His form is that of the lion*, the great walker who goes over the same course" (*Litany of Ra*).

[g] *Vide* W. R. Cooper, *Archaic Dictionary*, in voc. *Ishtar;* Lenormant, *Les Dieux de Babylone et de l'Assyrie*, p. 10.

7. Libra (diurnal). The Balance might be anything, but the flaming Altar of the Sun-god is of course diurnal.

8. Scorpio (nocturnal). The evil darkness that stings the solar Oriôn, the wounded Tammuz, the poisoned Hêraklês.

9. Sagittarius (diurnal). The solar racer armed with arrowy ray.

10. Capricornus (nocturnal). The sun buried in "the blind cave of night." In many representations the Goat is rising out of the Fish, *i. e.* the sun is about to leave the sea behind him.

11. Aquarius (diurnal). The rain-giving sun of the Oversea, "mare magnum sine fine."

12. Pisces (nocturnal). The Undersea, where the sinking Fish-sun hides at night. So Berosos says of Oannes, "And when the sun had set, Oannes retired again into the sea and passed the night in the deep, for he was amphibious."[a] "What," asks Porphyry, "is the meaning of those mystic narrations which say that a certain divinity is unfolded into light from mire, that he sails in a ship, and that he changes his forms every hour, according to the signs of the zodiac?" The obscure Neo-Platonic explanations of Iamblichos in reply are beside the mark. The solar sailor is unfolded from the primeval chaotic mass, the Phœnician Môkh (sometimes, like Rabbi Talmud, personified as a sage—Môchos); and in his struggle against and harmony with darkness he assumes many a phase and form, and meets with many a grim opponent and many a wondrous friend, as imagination transfers to the Heaven and the Underworld the actualities and vicissitudes of the earth; but the later and formal schemes and explanations of astronomico-astrology must never be confused with the earlier and simpler views and theories of the childlike mind of archaic man.[b]

[a] *Chaldaika*, i. 3.

[b] Geo. Smith translates the Fifth Tablet of the Chaldean Creation legend:—

> "It was delightful, all that was fixed by the great gods.
> Stars, their appearance [in figures] of animals he arranged.
> To fix the year through the observation of their constellations,
> Twelve signs of stars in three rows he arranged,
> From the day when the year commences unto the close."
>
> *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 69.

The positions of the wandering stars (planets) were then arranged; the Moon-god rose out of the "mass" of chaos, and the Sun-god "was perfected," and thus kosmic harmony was firmly established. Similarly in the *Veda* (*Rig Veda*, X. lxxii. 7) the gods are said to have drawn "forth the sun which was hidden [potentially] in the [primeval, chaotic] ocean." The Chaldean Year was divided also into four periods of three months, each respectively presided over by "the Great Goddess," Bel, Anu, and Hea (Geo. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 404-405).

## XIII.

The foregoing view of the original connexion between the Sun and the Signs may be aptly illustrated by a design of the Hellenico-Kamic period, whether engraved on a gem or not I am not certain.[a] In the centre of a circle formed by various creatures and representations all turned towards it, is a closed human eye. The Signs, if I may so call them, are placed in the following order: On the right hand, or eastern side, a cock, a serpent, and a goose; on the north a lizard and a thunderbolt; on the west a scorpion and a winged phallus; and on the south a lion and a dog. Here the symbolical combination is very varied and extensive, and the design is inexplicable when solely regarded either on Kamic or Hellenic principles. The single central eye is closed, showing that the Sun in the Underworld is indicated; the Lion, type of the diurnal sun, is placed in the lower part of the design to show that the flaming sun of day has sunk beneath the horizon. Near him is the dog of the blazing Sothis, Seirios Astêr, Kuôn-Seirios.[b] Conversely, the Lizard, emblem of the moisture and dews of night, and therefore slain by the Hellenic Sun-god Apollo Sauroktonos, is placed in the north, that is in the height of the nocturnal heaven, drawing a line through the centre of the representation from east to west, and regarding the part below the line as towards the south and in the Underworld. The Thunderbolt, which comes from the sky, is also placed high in heaven. To the east, his head close on the horizon line, stands the Cock, the solar bird of day. Immediately above him and due east is the Serpent-of-light, a solar creature in Kamic symbolism, and the creeping dawn-gleam[c] in Hellenic. Above the Serpent is the Goose volant, its neck stretched towards the sun, and flying from east to west. Here, I think, we are on purely Kamic ground, and see the soul of the Osirian striving to gain the presence of the god; this soul is said to "cackle like a goose,"[d] to fly, and to "alight on the road of the west of the horizon," flying towards the Sun-god. Near the western horizon, in its usual place and ready to seize the sinking sun, is his Scorpion-daughter, the Darkness which follows him. The Phallus,

[a] Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités*, vi. pl. xxxviii. fig. 3.

[b] Aischylos, *Agamemnôn*, 967.

[c] Lampetiê, who tells the not yet risen Helios of the slaughter of his oxen by the companions of Odysseus, a deed which had been done at night (*Odysseia*, xii.)

[d] The goose was sacred in Egypt (cf. Herod. ii. 72) as connected with the kosmic egg, and was the emblem of the Earth-and-Time god Seb. I have noticed that its name was given to a large constellation.

placed below the horizon, illustrates the secret power of the sun in the renewal of the face of the world, and is winged in order to identify it with the solar orb. "The phallus of the sun" is an Egyptian expression.[a]

Here, as in the Zodiac, all the symbols derive their position and character from the Sun. He is the Lion and the Phallus, and the blazing Dog-star is his reduplication. He is connected with the Cock of morning, the Serpent of light, and the fiery Thunderbolt; his foes are the Lizard of night, and the Scorpion of darkness. Lastly, towards him, the Soul of the World, the representative of the invisible Sun-god, aspires each individual Soul.

The fact of the intimate connexion between the Sun and the Signs, leads not unnaturally to the mistake of Macrobius,[b] who actually identifies the orb with the latter. Aries and Taurus are explained by the Egyptian Ammon and Apis. "Scorpius totus, in quo Libra est, naturam solis imaginatur." Even Virgo is made to fit his theory as the δύναμις ἡλιακή. The Sun climbs like the Goat, but the Capricornus of Macrobius is not fish-tailed. Pisces, which Macrobius, ignorant of Chaldean mythology, could not identify with Sol, show his power in the sea, a good instance of an apparently true, but really worthless, explanation. In short we are informed that "Nec solus Leo sed signa quoque universa zodiaci ad naturam solis jure referuntur."

I add drawings, which I have recently had made by Mr. Edward Brown of York, of the eleven Signs of the Zodiac still remaining upon the porch of St. Margaret's Church in that city.[c] These representations are described by Mr. Fowler in *Archaeologia*, XLIV. i. 146, *et seq.* He also alludes to a series of Signs "in a calendar of the early part of the twelfth century, in the Cathedral Library at Durham." The Rev. Wm. Greenwell, F.R.S., F.S.A., has kindly sent me a short description of these latter Signs. Amongst them may be noticed:—

Gemini. "Two female figures."

Cancer. "A beast, more like a water-beetle than a crab."

Scorpio. "A curious conventional beast with a long twisted and pointed tail."

Capricornus. "A Goat, with a tail like Scorpio, and no hind legs."

As the York and Durham Signs are nearly contemporaneous, their comparison affords a fairly complete idea of the Zodiacal art of the period.

[a] *Funereal Ritual*, xvii. xciii. [b] *Saturnalia*, i. 21. [c] Pl. IX.

Aries



Libra



Leo



Gemini



Aquarius



Sagittarius



Virgo



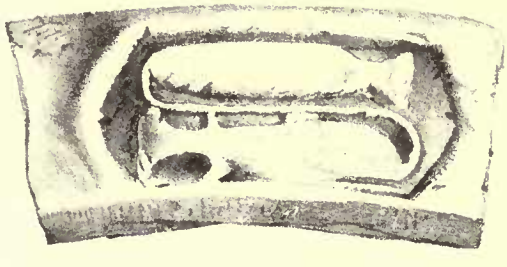
Scorpio



Cancer



Pisces



Capricornus



Edward Brown, del. 1882.

C.F. Kell, Lith. Castle St. Holborn. London, E.C.

ELEVEN SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC, FROM THE PORCH OF ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH, YORK.

# XIX.—*Notes on the Imagery of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster.*

*By* John Thomas Micklethwaite, *Esq.*, *F.S.A.*

Read Feb. 24, 1881.

The Chapel of King Henry the Seventh, *orbis miraculum*, as Leland calls it, has passed through troublous times with less injury to itself than most of our ecclesiastical buildings have, and than its especially exposed position might lead us to expect; and it still possesses much of the rich furniture and decorations with which it was originally fitted up. Amongst the latter, of one hundred and seven stone images in niches which once adorned the interior, not less than ninety-five remain, and of the twelve missing ones, we can discover the subjects of some, and explain the absence of all. The outside was once also rich in images, as the empty niches still testify, and they seem to have stood there until the beginning of the last century. I have not found the exact date of their removal, but Dart[a] says they were "taken away lest they should fall upon the heads of those who attend the Parliament." They were forty-eight in number, the six eastern turrets having four niches apiece, and the eight others three. The outside of the Chapel is all new, but is a very good copy for the time when it was done. The pedestal under each niche has a scroll, with a name, as it were that of the figure formerly above, but, I fear, not worth much as evidence of what was originally there. The selection has a very modern look, and there seems to be no system of arrangement. Apostles, prophets, and kings are mixed up in the most complete confusion; but the apostles and evangelists are all there, as are the greater and lesser prophets. For the rest the sole qualification required seems to be that they should be mentioned somewhere in the Old Testament. Some of the names

[a] Vol. ii. p. 49. According to Newbery's Guide Book, of which my copy is dated 1754, there were some images removed from the outside stowed in the roof of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, but it is not said clearly where they came from.

are in English, some in Latin, and some in neither. I give them as I find them in the note below.[a]

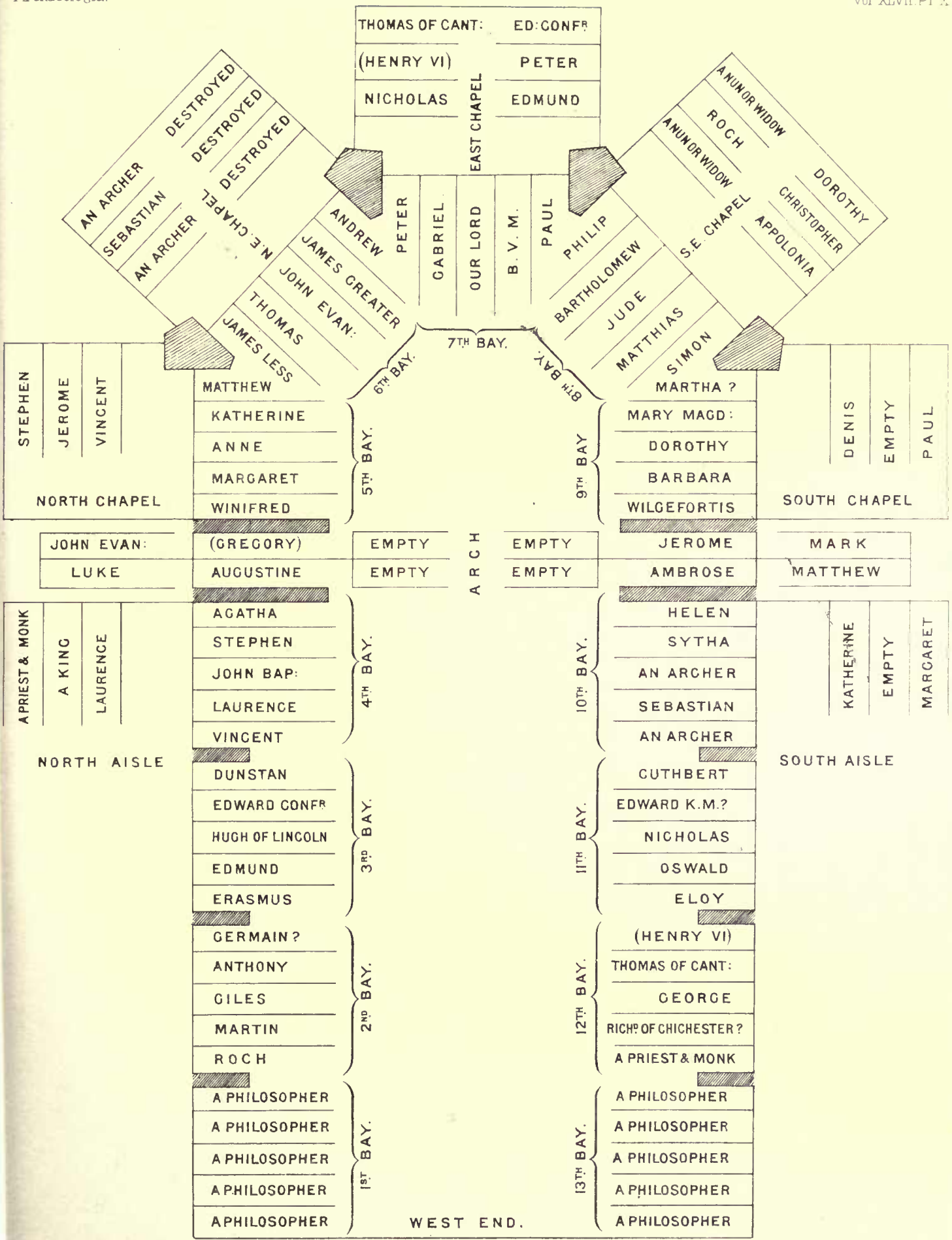
I believe Coombe[b] is the first writer who attempted to give a list of the figures inside the Chapel, but he was quite unsuccessful. Brayley did rather better, and his descriptions are generally correct, but he makes many mistakes in naming the figures, and passes many over without attempting to name them. Later writers have followed Brayley, and not improved on him. As this is by far the largest collection of such images remaining in England, we should be able to learn from it something of the ideas which influenced the sculptors in their choice and arrangement of subjects. The list which I now have the honour of presenting to the Society (Pl. X.) is not so perfect as I should like it to be. A few of the images are so injured as to have lost all distinctive marks, others have never had any, and a few more have marks the meaning of which I have not yet been able to discover. One—the bearded priest with the dragon—has so much that is special about him that I am dissatisfied to bring the matter forward without being able to identify him. But all my efforts to do so have failed. Many suggestions have been made, but none yet that is satisfactory, and I can only hope, by calling atten-

[a] Beginning at the south-west and working round from left to right to the north-west.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st Turret. | 1. Thomas. | 2. John B. 3. Solomon. |
| 2nd „ | 1. Esay. | 2. James L. 3. Misael. |
| 3rd „ | 1. Elizeas. | 2. Barnabes. 3. Luke. |
| 4th „ | 1. Nathan. | 2. Andrew. 3. Jonas. |
| 5th „ | 1. Jeremias. | 2. Peter. 3. David. 4. Esdreas. |
| 6th „ | 1. Michias. | 2. Ezekiel. 3. James. 4. Abdias. |
| 7th „ | 1. Hosea. | 2. Joel. 3. Amos. 4. Nahum. |
| 8th „ | 1. Semeiah. | 2. Phillip. 3. Aggeus. 4. Jehu. |
| 9th „ | 1. Michael. | 2. Ananias. 3. Malachy. 4. Simon. |
| 10th „ | 1. Zakarias. | 2. Matthew. 3. Abacuc. 4. Daniel. |
| 11th „ | 1. Mathias. | 2. Paul. 3. Azarias. |
| 12th „ | 1. Mark. | 2. Zephaniah. 3. Elisha. |
| 13th „ | 1. Bartholomew. | 2. John E. 4. Nehemiah. |
| 14th „ | 1. Elias. | 2. Samuel. 3. Jude. |

Two or three of the names are so obscured with soot that I could not be sure about them, but Cottingham's plates of the north and east elevations have enabled me to complete the list.

[b] The lists I have met with are Coombe's, in Ackermann's *History of Westminster Abbey*, vol. ii. pp. 145-9 (1812); Brayley's, in Neale and Brayley's *History and Antiquities of Westminster Abbey*, vol. i. pp. 37-9 (1818); Cottingham's, in his *Chapel of King Henry the Seventh*, vol. ii. pp. 11-17 (1829); and Sir Henry Cole's, in his *Handbook for Westminster Abbey*, pp. 129-131 (1842). Cottingham has drawn many of the images, but has restored missing parts according to his fancy.




# A SYNOPTICAL VIEW OF THE IMAGES INSIDE HENRY VII^THS CHAPEL

*The Names in Brackets are those of Figures now gone. Names marked ? are more or less doubtful.*

tion to the matter in this paper, to obtain some information which may settle the point.

The figures are evidently the works of many hands,[a] and vary in quality from very good to very bad. They are of two sizes—small ones, about three feet three inches high, in the body of the Chapel, and larger, about five feet, in the aisles and side chapels. I will describe the larger first, as there is reason to think they were the first executed. They are generally of the better sort. I begin in all cases on the left, and describe the images in order from left to right.

*In the North Aisle.*—Here are three niches at the east end above the site of an altar, and figures remain in all.

1. Is that mentioned just now. It is of a priest,[b] bearded, vested for Mass, but with a scapular pulled out over his chasuble; both hands wear gauntlets, the left carries a closed book, and the right holds one end of a stole, the other end of which is tied round the neck of a dragon at the feet of the figure.

2. A king, beardless, in right hand a sceptre, the left, muffled in mantle, holds a closed book. This has been called Henry the Sixth, but we have reason for placing him elsewhere. It is not Edward C. nor Edmund K. M., for both are found further on in this series. It might be Edward K. M. or Lewis of France, but either of them would be easy to mark, and the sculptor would scarcely be content to show him with a book only. I think the closed book, as in this and the last figure, indicates authorship. The open book in which many of the saints are represented reading has probably no special meaning, but I suspect a closed book generally has.

3. St. Lawrence as a deacon in dalmatic; he reads from a book which is supported on a gridiron. He has the stole, after the manner of priests, hanging down on both sides.

*In the North Chapel.*—The west side is entirely taken up with the monument of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, but the corresponding position in the opposite chapel has no niches, so it is probable that there were none here. On the east side, above the site of the altar, are three niches, all retaining their figures.

1. St. Stephen, with dalmatic and stole like St. Lawrence. He holds a handful of stones in right hand upon which he supports the book of the Gospels closed.

[a] See note A at the end of the paper.

[b] *Not a bishop.* Nearly all the names which have been suggested to me for this figure have been those of bishops. St. Simon Stock and St. Gilbert of Sempringham have been proposed, and either is possible, but I have not found in their stories anything to account for the very curious representation we have here. The same is in "Twelfth Bay" 5, and Plate XII.

2. St. Jerome, as a cardinal, closed book in left hand; right seems to have held a pen; a small lion fawns on him on the left side.

3. A deacon or subdeacon in dalmatic, but with no stole visible; the left hand, veiled in a napkin or *offertorium*, holds three vessels very like pint measures. This is St. Vincent, who is named in the will of Henry the Seventh as one of his *avouries*.[a]

*In the North-east Chapel.*—There have been six figures, three over the altar, and three in the wall opposite. The niches over the altar have been cut away to make room for the monument of John Sheffield, Duke of Bucks, and we do not know what was in them. The others remain, and form a group representing the martyrdom of St. Sebastian. In the middle niche the saint is represented tied naked to a tree, and on each side is a man armed with a crossbow, the first taking aim and the other preparing to do so. The executioners wear gowns and hats like the gentry of the time when the work was done.

*In the East Chapel.*—I think that when the plan of Henry the Seventh's Chapel was first laid down it was not intended that there should be an altar in the eastern recess, but that the shrine of the new saint should stand there. We know that the tomb of the founder was at first intended to be in the middle of the body of the Chapel, and in front of the Altar of Our Lady, which would then be further east than it is now, and the shrine of Henry the Sixth would hold the same relative position with respect to it as that of St. Edward does to the High Altar. The alteration in the plan by which the founder's tomb was placed behind the principal altar was probably brought about by the failure of the efforts to obtain the canonization of Henry the Sixth. An altar may have afterwards been put in the east recess and may even have been dedicated to "Saint" Henry, for we know there were altars to him in other places. And Thorpe's plan seems to show an altar not towards the east, but towards the north. In this chapel are six niches, three on the north and three on the south, and five of them still hold images.

On the north side:

1. A Bishop vested for Mass and with crozier against left shoulder. With his right hand he blesses an infant which he holds in a basket in his left.[b] There can be little doubt that this is intended for St. Nicholas, the patron of children, but I do not remember an exactly similar representation of him elsewhere.

[a] Husenbeth gives an example of St. Vincent, "with book and jug or ewer," from an old vestment in Wardour Chapel.

[b] The same as in "Eleventh Bay" 3, and Plate XI.

2. Is now empty, but the letters H.R.[a] between a rose and a pomegranate on the base make it pretty certain that here was the figure of Henry the Sixth himself. And this seems to explain both the unusual position of the altar shown by Thorpe and the removal of the image.

3. An archbishop vested for Mass and reading from a book; the cross rests against his left shoulder. This looks like St. Thomas of Canterbury, and I believe it is intended for him, for we should expect to find him amongst such a collection of saints as are in this chapel. He was commonly represented thus, but, as there is nothing about the figure which would not suit that of any other archbishop, it is possible that the order for doing away all memorials of St. Thomas may have been evaded by giving it a new name.

On the south side:

1. St. Edward Confessor, as a king, bearded, with sceptre in right hand and ring in left.

2. St. Peter, bearded, in the conventional dress generally given to apostles, holding a key in right hand and a closed book in left.

3. St. Edmund, king and martyr, as a king, shaven, holding an orb in left hand, and an arrow in place of sceptre in right. Brayley and those who follow him call this St. Ursula.

*In the South-East Chapel* are six niches, three over the altar and three opposite, in all of which figures remain.

On the east side 1 and 3 are much alike and represent women in the dress of nuns or widows; the right hand, which may have held some distinguishing badge, is injured in each case, and the left holds a sort of jar, which in 1 is cylindrical and in 3 gourd-shaped. Either of these figures alone might have been taken for St. Clare. The Rev. S. Baring Gould has suggested that the two may represent the sisters Mary and Martha, which is quite possible. St. Mary Magdalene is not found elsewhere in this series; but she is represented in the more usual manner in the upper range. 2 is St. Roch, as a pilgrim, with "sign" of the cross keys in his hat. He opens his dress to show a sore on his left thigh. At his left side is a dog with a loaf in his mouth. On the west side: 1. St. Dorothy. A young woman reading and carrying a wicker basket over her right arm. This is the basket containing the flowers and fruits of Paradise. The head of the figure has been tampered with. 2. St. Christopher wading through water. He

[a] The initials H. R. and the various Tudor badges are common all over the Chapel, but this is the only case in which they are found on the base of the niche or in any other way connected with any of the images.

is bearded, wears a short tunic, and uses an uprooted tree for a staff. On his shoulder is the figure of the child Jesus now much broken.

3. St. Apollonia. A young woman with long hair, reading from a book in right hand, and holding a pair of pincers in her left.

*In the South Chapel*—Are three niches over the altar, two having figures. The wall opposite is decorated with panel work, and has no niches.

1. St. Denis. A bishop, in cope, with crozier against his left shoulder. With both hands he holds a mitred head. He has another head and mitre in the usual place.

2. Is empty.

3. St Paul. An apostolic figure, bearded and long haired, reading from a book, which he supports on the pommel of a sword held on his right side.

*In the South Aisle*—Are three niches over the altar, the middle one empty.

1. St. Katherine. Crowned and royally dressed, trampling on the Emperor. To her left, the broken wheel, with knives.

3. St. Margaret. Crowned as last, and thrusting the butt of a large cross into the jaws of a dragon at her feet.

We have now gone round the minor chapels, and have found in them twenty-four images remaining, and the places of six more. Of these six, the absence of three is explained by the intrusion of the monument of the Duke of Bucks into their place. We have no evidence of what they were, or whether they were all in their places up to the time of the erection of the monument.[a] The other three

[a] I suspect that the altar of St. Erasmus, at which was the chantry of Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward the Fourth, stood in this place. The chapel which she built, and which stood near, and probably attached to the side of the old Lady Chapel, was pulled down to make way for the new Lady Chapel built by Henry the Seventh, and an altar for the chantry services was temporarily set up where is now the entrance to the chapel of St. John Evangelist. That altar cannot have stood after the erection of the tomb of George Ruthall, who died in 1524; and as at that time the new Lady Chapel was ready for use, it would be natural to provide for the Queen's chantry in it at a new altar of St. Erasmus placed somewhere near the site of the old one. I learn from Mr. Wright, the clerk of works to the Dean and Chapter, that he has found the foundations of the older Lady Chapel, which show that it reached eastwards as far as the body of the present Chapel and there ended in a three-sided apse. So if, as is very likely, Qeeen Elizabeth's chantry chapel stood between two of its buttresses near the east end, it may have been nearly on this spot. The figure of the saint to whom the altar was dedicated would be one of those in the wall above, and all the chapels on the north side except this have their figures complete, and St. Erasmus is not among them. If the altar were anywhere in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and not here, it must have been in what I have called the south chapel. For the east is accounted for, and the south aisle had the chantry of Margaret of Richmond.

are the middle figures over the sites of altars. There can be little doubt that they were removed in obedience to Cromwell's *Injunctions* issued in 1536, which ordered the removal of all images before which lights had been placed, or to which offerings had been made. These figures had probably lights before them, perhaps indeed rather with respect to the altars below them than to the images themselves, but that was enough to cause their removal. That of Henry the Sixth may have had offerings made to it, as we know was done to his image at York and elsewhere.

The smaller figures in the body of the Chapel form a range above the arches, and below the clerestory windows all round, except at the west end, five in each bay, and two ranging with them on each of the broad piers between the fourth and the fifth bays. These piers have each a pair of niches above the main range, and another below it. The subjects are arranged according to one general system, with some attention to symmetrical disposition within the separate bays.

In the centre of the east end is Our Lord enthroned, with the Blessed Virgin in the next niche on the south, and the angel Gabriel on the north; then to right and left are the apostles, then holy women,[a] then Evangelists and Doctors, who take up the niches of the great piers; and after them a general multitude of saints, amongst whom are those most popular in England at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Most of the figures in the chapels round are repeated here, and amongst them are the two executioners of St. Sebastian, who seem much out of place in such a range, and their presence suggests that the general arrangement was laid down by authority, but that those who had the working out of it were left to make their own selection of subjects, and to save themselves trouble simply repeated what had been done below. The figures in the western bay at both sides appear not to represent Christian saints. They show men dressed as laymen of rank in the sixteenth century, with books or scrolls in their hands, and generally in earnest disputation. It is difficult to appropriate these figures with certainty. At first I thought they might be members of the family of the founder. But, if it had been so, there must have been clearer distinctions amongst them, even though it were no more than to mark kings from subjects. Again, they do not look like the prophets of the old law. I think it is most likely that they are intended for the heathen philosophers. The figures themselves agree well with this; and the introduction of the philosophers after the saints of the church is quite in harmony with the ideas of that time. There is a parallel example in the

[a] Probably placed here with reference to the text "In the midst are the damsels."

choir stalls at Ulm set up between 1469 and 1474, in which there is a great show of imagery, and the philosophers are introduced opposite to the sibyls.

Each of the figures in this range has a scroll below intended to have the name painted upon it. But the painting seems never to have been done, although Henry VII. orders it in his will, in which he directs "that the walles, doores, windows, archies, and vaults, and ymagies of the same our chapell within and w^t^out, be painted, garnisshed and adorned with our armes, bagies, cognoisaunts, and other convenient painteng, in as goodly and riche maner as such a work requireth and as to a King's work app'teigneth."[a] There is no trace of any painting here now except the dedication crosses, of which nine remain in good condition, the other three having probably been destroyed when the eastern windows were rebuilt. If there had been any such painting as described in the King's will there must have been a good deal of it left now. Those who had charge of the work probably felt that the chapel was better without it; and they were right, but it would have been interesting to us if they had not left the name-scrolls blank.

I will now describe the figures of the upper range in order, beginning at the west end of the north side and so working round from left to right. For convenience I number each bay separately.

*The First Bay.*—The figures here are those that I have called philosophers. They are in gowns and mantles, and wear hats which generally have jewelled ornaments. 1 and 2 are bearded, the others shaven; all have long hair. 1, 2, and 5 hold books; 3 is preparing to open a scroll; all are represented as in earnest disputation. 1 has a sword knife and gypsere hanging to his girdle. Our fellow, Mr. J. H. Middleton, whom I have to thank for much help in the examination of the figures, suggests that the sword may be intended to mark out Aristotle as the fighting philosopher.

*The Second Bay.*—1. St. Roch, as a pilgrim, exhibiting a sore on his left thigh, as in the south-east chapel; but here there is no dog.

2. A man in armour except his head, upon which is a hat. His face is shaved and he has long hair. Over his armour he wears a large loose cloth or mantle. In his hands he holds a precious mitre. This very curious figure must be intended for St. Martin. The more usual way of representing him—on horseback and dividing his cloak with a beggar – did not suit the position. So as much of his history as possible was put on to a single standing figure. He is in

[a] Dart, vol. i. p. 8.

armour to tell us that he had been a soldier; the mantle which he divided with the beggar is thrown over him; and he carries the mitre to show that he became a bishop. This figure is drawn on Plate XI.

3. St. Giles as a bishop vested for Mass, with a small deer jumping up against his right knee.

4. St. Anthony. A bearded figure in frock, scapular, mantle, and hat. A pair of beads hangs at his right side. His left hand holds an open book, and from the same hand hangs a good-sized bell. A gaunt pig stands at his left side.

5. A bishop vested for Mass; in his left hand he holds a staff the head of which is gone, and with his right he blesses a child held up to him by a woman who kneels at his feet. This seems to refer to some miracle of healing, and there are many bishops to whom the figure might be attributed. Perhaps it is St. Germain, whom Sir Thomas More speaks of as a special patron of children.

*The Third Bay.*—1. St. Erasmus. A bishop in a cope reading from a book which he holds in both hands. Against his left shoulder, in place of a staff, is the spindle of a windlas.

2. A king, bearded; in left hand an orb; right hand gone. There is a mark at right side of head as of the breaking away of something in the shape of a sceptre. There can be little doubt that this and No. 4 represent St. Edmund and St. Edward, as in the east chapel; the object like a sceptre lost from No. 2 having been an arrow.

3. St. Hugh of Lincoln. A bishop in cope reading from a book which he holds in both hands. The crozier rests against his right shoulder. At his feet is a swan.

4. St. Edward the Confessor. A king with sceptre in right hand; left hand broken away. It probably held a ring. See description of No. 2 above.

5. St. Dunstan. A bishop in cope with crozier in left hand. With his right hand he holds a pair of blacksmith's pincers fastened on the nose of a devil, who tries to tear them open with his claws.[a]

*The Fourth Bay.*—1. St. Vincent. A deacon, as in the north chapel. The stole appears at both sides. He holds the three vessels with his left hand, and with them supports a book from which he reads.

[a] Is the story of St. Dunstan, his hot pincers, and the young woman who was a devil, a popular improvement on that of the branding of the face of Elgiva? It is true that was not contrived by Dunstan, but by the Archbishop of Canterbury; but Dunstan was so distinctly the leading English ecclesiastic and statesman of his time, that the credit—and we must remember that the act was regarded as praiseworthy—might easily be transferred to him. The remaining steps are simple.

2. St. Lawrence. A deacon with no visible stole. He reads from a book which he rests on a large gridiron.

3. St. John Baptist, with long hair and beard, bare arms and legs. He holds a lamb on a book.

4. St. Stephen. A deacon, with stole shewing on both sides. He reads from a book which he supports on a handful of stones.

5. A young woman richly dressed. She has long loose hair and a sort of turban head-dress with jewels. The dress is open so as to expose the right breast. The right hand holds a large knife, and the left a box or casket. This is St. Agatha.

*The North Pier.*—This comes between the fourth and fifth bays. It has three pairs of niches, the middle pair in line with the general range round the chapel. The lowest niches are empty. They may have lost their images in 1725, when the chapel was much altered and the stalls extended to this pier. But it is more likely that they have been destroyed simply because they were within easy reach, and so exposed to mischief or fanaticism.[a] We have no clue to their subjects.

1, in the middle pair of niches, contains the figure of a bishop vested for Mass, blessing with his right hand and holding a book in his left. The crozier rests against his left shoulder. As in these two large piers we find the four evangelists above, and two of the doctors below, and a very good reason to account for the absence of a third, we may safely ascribe this figure to St. Augustine, the fourth.

2, in the middle pair is empty. The image of St. Gregory which once stood there would be that of a pope, and would be taken away when the "superstitious" images were, as seeming to favour the pretensions of the Bishop of Rome. Thus does the memory of a good man suffer by his being ill sorted.

The highest figures are very curious, and, I believe, have not been properly described before.

1. St. Luke. An apostolic figure with a cap on the head; the right hand extended downwards; the left holds a closed book, upon which is a small winged ox in the same manner as the lamb which St. John Baptist often carries on a book.

2. St. John Evangelist. A figure similar to the last, but without cap, holding a bird on a closed book.

[a] Dart's view of the inside of the chapel, which is a fairly good one, and was taken before the alterations, does not show figures here. Perhaps they fell before the over-zeal of Dr. John Hardyman, who in 1567 was deprived of his prebend here for destroying altars and other church ornaments without authority.

*The Fifth Bay.*—1. A young woman with long loose hair and turban, reading from a book which she holds in both hands. In her right hand she holds a palm branch. On the ground at her right side is a heading block, with a female head lying upon it. This is probably St. Winifred.

2. St. Margaret. A young woman with loose hair royally arrayed and crowned. She thrusts a staff into the jaws of a dragon at her feet. The top of the staff, which was probably a cross, is broken away.

3. St. Anne. This is a very beautiful group. The saint is represented in the dress of a widow. Her daughter, whom she is teaching to read, stands before her left knee, and is represented as an adult both in dress and figure, though her stature is that of a child.

4. St. Katherine. She is represented as in the south aisle. Both hands are broken away, and the image is a very poor one.

5. St. Matthew. An apostolic figure, hooded, and wearing spectacles, reading from a book in left hand, and holding in right an object like a Latin cross, of which one arm is wanting. Perhaps it is intended for a carpenter's square. This is the first of the series of apostles, the others being all within the three bays of the apse.

*The Sixth Bay, being the northern cant of the apse.*—1. St. James the Less. An apostolic figure, with long hair, bearded and shod, reading from a book held in both hands. Against his left side is a long curved club.

2. St. Thomas. An apostolic figure with long hair, shaven, shod, and wearing a hat. In right hand a spear, in left a book in a bag or case.

3. St. John Evangelist. An apostolic figure with long hair, beardless and barefoot. With right hand he blesses a cup, from which issues a dragon.

4. St. James the Great. As a pilgrim, with sclavine, bourdon, wallet, bottle, and large straw hat, in front of which is an escalop shell. The feet are bare. He is turning over a page in a book, which he holds in his left hand.

5. St. Andrew. An apostolic figure with long hair, bearded, bareheaded, and shod. He reads from a book which he holds in his right hand, and with his left supports the cross which is named from him.

*The Seventh Bay, being the east end of the apse.*—1. St. Peter. A bearded apostolic figure with long hair, reading from a book in left hand, and holding a key in right.

2. The Angel Gabriel. A rather ungraceful figure in amice, albe, crossed stole, and cope, with a round jewelled morse. On the head is a circlet, with a broken ornament in front, probably a cross. The right hand is broken away, but

the top of the sceptre which it held remains at the side of the head. In left hand is a scroll or ribbon of many contortions. I can see no trace of writing upon it. It was probably intended to be painted like the scrolls below the images, and like them never done.

This figure and No. 4 form a group of the Annunciation, and interfere with the general scheme of the figures; the reason for this seems to have been a desire to include the figure of Our Lady, combined with an unwillingness to place that of any other mortal in a position of equal dignity with hers.

3. Our Lord in Majesty. This is the central figure of the whole, and is but a poor one. Our Lord is represented as enthroned, with his right foot resting on a globe. He is bearded and unshod, and wears the usual toga-like dress. He blesses with his right hand, and with his left holds a book open towards the spectator.

4. The Blessed Virgin. This also is a poor figure. A young woman with long hair. The right hand is on the breast; the left is broken away.

5. St. Paul. A bearded apostolic figure, with long hair. He is shod, and reads from a book in left hand, and holds a sheathed sword in right.

*The Eighth Bay, being the southern cant of the apse.*—1. St. Philip. A bearded apostolic figure, with hat and shoes. The right hand is extended, and the left holds up three loaves.

2. St. Bartholomew. A bearded apostolic figure, with long hair. He holds a book in his right hand and a knife in his left.

3. St Jude. A bearded apostolic figure, with long hair and hood and bare feet, holding a boat with both hands.

4. St. Matthias. A bearded apostolic figure with long hair, shod feet, and no covering for the head. In right hand he holds a book, and in left a large knife or scythe-blade.

5. St. Simon. A figure like the last. He has a book in right hand. The left, which held the distinguishing emblem, probably a fish, is broken off; but as this is the last of the images of the apostles, and we have been able to assign all the others, there can be no doubt about it.

It is evident that the intention was to place the apostles here in the order in which they are named in the Canon of the Mass,[a] and as far as Bartholomew they

[a] "*Communicantes et memoriam venerantes, imprimis gloriosae semper Virginis Mariae, genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi; sed et beatorum Apostolorum et Martyrum Tuorum, Petri, Pauli, Andreae, Jacobi, Joannis, Thomae, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomaei, Matthaei, Simonis, et Thaddaei,* &c."



ST. MARTIN.



ST WILGEFORT



ST NICHOLAS

SCALE ONE SIXTH LINEAR

are so. Peter is on the right hand of the principal group, and Paul on the left. Then follow in order on the right hand side Andrew, James the Great, John, Thomas, and James the Less, filling the sixth bay. The series is then taken up at the left, in the eighth bay, beginning with Philip and Bartholomew; and that the other three do not follow in the same order is probably due to the carelessness of the imagers or of the setters. There was only room for twelve apostles in the apse, and, as St. Paul was counted amongst them, one had to be put outside, and thus we find St. Matthew in the last place of the fifth bay. It is likely that if the arrangement had not been blundered we should have had there St. Matthias, who is similarly left out of the canon to make room for St. Paul.

*The Ninth Bay.*—1. A nun or widow turning over a page of a book which she holds in her left hand. Perhaps this may be intended for St. Elizabeth, the mother of St. John Baptist. Or it may be Martha of Bethany, if either of the figures in the south-east chapel be intended for her.

2. St. Mary Magdalene. A young woman with long loose hair, holding a cylindrical box or jar in both hands..

3. St. Dorothy. A young woman richly dressed, with turban head dress, reading from a book held in left hand; right hand holds a wicker basket.

4. St. Barbara. A young woman, with long hair, bound by a jewelled wreath, reading from a book held in right hand; a castle with turrets in left.

5. St. Wilgeforte. A young woman, with long hair and turban, as in several already described, but with a *beard*. She reads from a book, which she rests on the top of a T cross. This is the only image I have seen of this curious and altogether fabulous saint, but she was once a favourite. There was a famous image of her at St. Paul's. It was supposed that a saint who had obtained a beard in order to avoid matrimony would have some sympathy with those who wished to escape from it, so ladies who had husbands whom they would be rid of used to ask her help, whence her popular name of St. Uncumber.[a] See Plate XI.

*The South Pier* comes between the ninth and tenth bays corresponding to the pier on the north, and, like it, has six niches at three levels. The lowest pair are empty, like those opposite, and for the same reasons.

1, in the middle pair, has the image of St. Jerome as a cardinal in an attitude of meditation. His left hand turns over the leaves of a book which lies on a

[a] See note B at the end of the paper. It seems, from a letter of one of the Pastons to his mother in 1465, that ladies who had not husbands and wanted them paid their devotions to the *Rood of Northdoor* at St. Paul's. See Gairdner's *Paston Letters*, vol. ii. p. 233.

lectern before him. His right hand hangs down and holds a pen which a little lion jumps up to and plays with.

2. St. Ambrose. A bishop vested for Mass, reading from a book which he holds in his left hand. In right he holds a scourge, and the crozier, from which the head is lost, rests against the left shoulder.

1, in the highest pair. St. Mark as a young man richly dressed and wearing a sort of turban. He holds a book upon which is a very small lion. This figure corresponds with those of St. John and St. Luke on the opposite pier.

2. St. Matthew. A bearded figure in cassock and mantle; he has a cap or coif on his head and wears spectacles; a pen-case hangs from his girdle. He writes in a book which is held up to him by an angel, in alb and cope, and with a circlet round the head, who also holds up the inkpot with the other hand.

*The Tenth Bay.*—1. St. Helen. A queen with long hair hanging down from under her crown. She reads from a book which she rests on the top of a T cross.

2. A young woman richly dressed, with long hair and turban head-dress. She reads from a book which she holds in both hands. A pair of beads hang over her right wrist. This is St. Sythe.

3, 4, and 5 reproduce the group of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian as in the north-east chapel. I have already mentioned this as another example of the carelessness of the imagers.

*The Eleventh Bay.*—1. St. Cuthbert. A bishop vested for Mass, holding his crozier in his left hand and the head of a king in his right. The head is that of St. Oswald.

2. A young king, unbearded, both hands are gone, but a pin remains which shows that some object of considerable size[a] was held before the breast. The figure is a poor one. I think it probably represents Edward King and Martyr. It directly faces the figure of Edward the Confessor.

3. St. Nicholas, as in the east chapel. See Plate XI.

4. A young king with a sceptre in right hand and a crowned head in his left. This is probably St. Oswald. The figure directly opposite is that of St. Edmund.

5. St. Eloy. A bishop in cope, holding his crozier in his left hand and a horseshoe in his right.

*The Twelfth Bay.*—1. This niche is empty. If I am not right in attributing the next figure to St. Thomas of Canterbury we may suppose his once to have

[a] Probably a hawk if the figure is that of Edward.



St THOMAS OF CANTERBURY



UNKNOWN.



A PHILOSOPHER

stood in this place. But the arrangement of the figures in the eleventh and twelfth bays and in those opposite to them shows an intention to place a bishop in every alternate niche, and this one has a bishop on each side. The five last figures have been bishops and kings alternately, and we may fairly expect another king here. Henry the Sixth is wanting in the series, and we should certainly look to find him there. It seems therefore most likely that his image occupied the vacant place. The removal of it at the same time as that of the corresponding figure in the eastern chapel looks rather like an act of over-zeal, but there may have been some special reason for it. Both here and at the east end the vacant niche has the figure of St. Thomas of Canterbury next to the right of it, which may go to confirm the like assignment of the places, but the fact by itself is not of much weight.

2. An archbishop in alb and cope reading. His cross rests against his left shoulder. The stole is crossed, and there is a figure of the Crucified on the cross. This and the third image on the north side of the east chapel must represent the same person, and I have no doubt it is St. Thomas of Canterbury. There is a well-known story in the life of St. Thomas which makes the cross in his hands a more personal emblem than in those of other archbishops.[a] See Plate XII.

3. St. George in full armour with his visor raised, cutting with his sword at the dragon, upon which he tramples.

4. A bishop in albe and cope with crozier in his right hand. With his left he appears to be putting alms into a dish held up to him by a lame beggar. The beggar is scantily clothed and has no feet, but perhaps they have been broken off; he walks on two stumps which are strapped to his legs below the knees, and he appears to have had a crutch, but most of it is broken away. I think this is intended for St. Richard of Chichester, who was remarkable for rather extravagant almsgiving.

5. This is the same person as No. 1 in the north aisle. He wears a remarkably full chasuble of the early form. He is bearded, wears gauntlets, and leads a dragon by a stole. His scapular is again made conspicuous. See Plate XII.

*The Thirteenth Bay.*—Like those on the opposite side, the five figures in this bay are men in the dress of the sixteenth century, and I think that they also

[a] It is a common error to suppose the cross of an archbishop to be the equivalent of the crook or crozier of an ordinary bishop, and to have been carried by him in ecclesiastical functions. An archbishop did not carry the cross, but it was borne before him by a clerk appointed for that office. He himself used the crozier like other bishops. In monumental effigies and seals and the like we sometimes see an archbishop represented with the cross in his hand as a conventional way of showing his dignity.

represent the ancient philosophers. 1, 3, and 5 are shaven, the other two wear beards; 1, 3, and 4 hold scrolls; 2 and 5 books; 3 wears spectacles; all have hats; 3 is drawn in Plate XII.

I have now described all the stone figures which remain, and have been able to name enough of them to show the general scheme of their distribution. The groups in the small chapels are complete in themselves, and probably in every case have some reference to the altars which once stood there. The upper range is intended to set forth the whole company of the saints assembled round the throne, and the chief of those who are found below are repeated here. There are most of the saints who were most popular in this part of England in the middle ages;[a] but we may notice some exceptions. St. Alban is absent, perhaps, on account of the long rivalry between this house and the abbey which bears his name and claimed to possess his body. Dominic and Francis are not here, nor any other of the saints of the friars. The absence of St. Benedict is curious, and I think his image must have been in one of the lower niches of the great piers. Perhaps those four niches now empty may have contained the figures of four of the first founders of the monastic life corresponding with the four doctors and four evangelists above.

The scheme begun in the walls was probably carried on in the painted windows, and those of the clerestory may have contained either more saints or, as is I think more likely, the patriarchs, prophets, and sibyls, and the various orders of angels, and perhaps, too, the "worthies" male and female. It is not certain that the glazing was ever finished, but some certainly was done, for the windows of "the Kynge's new chapell at Westminster," are referred to as the standard which is to be equalled in an agreement[b] for painting four windows in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, made in 1527. The fragments of painted glass still remaining in the great west window and those of the clerestory all round seem to show that they at least were finished. But I doubt whether the lower windows ever received more than quarry glazing and a few badges and monograms intended to serve until glass more suited to the rich character of the building could be provided. There is a figure in the middle light of the east window of the clerestory which is called that of Henry VII. It is a good deal made up, and as seen from below it is impossible to say whether any of it occupies its original position, or even what it may have been intended to represent. There is a scroll

[a] See note C at the end of the paper.

[b] This agreement is printed in Britton's account of the chapel in the first volume of his *Architectural Antiquities*, page 15.

in the hands, on four fragments of which Mr. Middleton succeeded in decypher-ing these letters: *domin — atiō — lau — te — n —*.[a] This looks very much like a fragment from a representation of the orders of angels such as I have suggested may have been here. The clerestory of the apse would be the most likely place for it.

The furniture of the Chapel was as rich in imagery as the building itself. But what is left of it has been figured in Ackermann's *Westminster*, and properly described there and in later books. I shall therefore only enumerate the figures.

The High Altar stood till 1643, when it was destroyed by the Puritans. It was a fine *Renaissance* work by Torrigiano, of which a few pieces still remain, and have lately been put back as nearly as possible into their old places. Sandford gives an engraving of the whole,[b] and from it and the description in the original contract[c] we learn that beneath the Altar was a figure of Christ lying dead; above the Altar was a table or reredos with bronze subjects in relief both in front and behind, the former being the Resurrection and the latter the Nativity. Over the Altar was a canopy or tester carried on pillars, and above its cornices were coats of arms and angels bearing the instruments of the Passion.

The tomb of the founder remains almost perfect, the only loss being the banners which were carried by the four angels at the corners. At each side are three large roundels with the figures of two saints apiece. They are, on the south side—1. The Blessed Virgin and Child and St. Michael trampling on the dragon; 2. St. John Baptist and St. John Evangelist; 3. St. George and St. Anthony. On the north side—1. St. Mary Magdalene and St. Barbara; 2. St. Christopher and St. Anne; 3. St. Edward and St. Vincent. All these except St. Christopher are named in the will of Henry VII. as his *avouries*, whose images he directs to be placed in niches round his tomb. After Henry's death the design for his tomb, which he describes, was changed for the Italian one, but otherwise his instructions were obeyed. The screen or grate round the tomb was begun by the King in his lifetime, and is probably English work. Its eight towers have contained thirty-two bronze figures, but of these only six remain. On the south side are St. John Evangelist, St. Edward, and St. Bartholomew; on the east is St. James the Greater as a pilgrim; on the north is an apostolic figure, which has lost the hands, and all distinctive emblems; and on the west is St. George.

[a] Part of *Dominationes laudate nomen Domini.*

[b] *Genealogical History*, plate, ed. 1707, p. 497.

[c] Printed in Brayley, vol. i. p. 58, and elsewhere.

These are all the strictly hagiological subjects which are left. The architectural and heraldic seulpture and the carvings of the stalls all deserve special study. But for the present I am content to have called attention to, and I hope thrown some light upon, a collection of statuary the like of which, even after the losses it has suffered, exists nowhere else in England. That it should have been left to me to do so is due to the almost inexhaustible richness of Westminster Abbey, and to the fact that reeent antiquaries have given their attention chiefly to the earlier works there.

---

# NOTES.

## NOTE A.

It has been suggested that some of the figures may be older than the present chapel, and have once adorned the earlier one; and this is not unlikely of the smaller figures. Mr. W. S. Weatherley, to whose skilful pencil we owe the illustrations to this paper, examined and drew the figures when they were taken down in 1869, and he tells me that two materials are used, some of the figures of the upper range being in Caen stone, of which the chapel is built, and some in the Reigate "fire-stone" generally used in the older parts of the abbey. And he further adds that the latter are earlier in their character, "having a taller proportion, with the drapery folds straighter" than the others. Mr. Weatherley names the figures of SS. Augustine, Katherine, Ambrose, Helen, and Edward, K.M., as those which for these reasons he considers to be of the older date.

## NOTE B.

The following passage from Sir Thomas More is worth quoting, as it proves the identity of St. Uncumber with St. Wilgeforte and also mentions several other saints whose images are in our list:

"Sainct Apoline we make a toth drawer, and may speke to her of nothing but of sore teth. St. Sythe women get to seke theyr keys. Saint Roke we set to se to the great sykeness, bycause he had a sore. And with hym they joyne Saint Sebastian bycause he was martiret with arowes. Some serve for the eye onely, and some for a sore brest. Saint Germayne onely for chyldren, and yet wyll he not ones loke at them but if the mother bring with them a whyte lofe and a pot of good ale; and yet is he wiser than Saint Wylgefort, for she, good soule, is as they say served and content with otys. Whereof I can not perceive the reason, but if it be bicause she should

provyde an horse for an evil housebonde to ryde to the Devyll upon; for that is the thyng she is sought for as they say. In so much that women hath therefore chaunged her name, and instede of Saint Wylgeforte call her Saint Uncumber, bycause they reckon that for a pecke of otys she will not fayle to uncumber them of their housebondys." *A Dialoge concerning Heresies and Matters of Religion*, Book II. chapter 10.

This fame went forth of St. Wilgeforte in other countries besides England, and she had popular names which refer to it. The Rev. S. Baring Gould writes to me,—"She is called Oncumbre in Flanders, and Kummerniss (a softening of *Kummernicht*) in Germany, and St. Liberada or Liberata (freed from a husband) in Portugal and France. There is a new altar and picture to her in a chapel near Dieppe, and I know a German one on the Seisser Alp, near Botzen."

## NOTE C.

It may be interesting to compare the list of Saints represented in the chapel which King Henry VII. lived to build with those whom his less fortunate rival and predecessor intended should be specially honoured in the College which his death prevented him from founding at Middleham. In the statutes of the proposed college which are printed by the Camden Society is the following list:—

*St. John Baptist.
*St. John Evangelist.
*St. Peter.
*St. Paul.
*St. Simon.
*St. Jude.
St. Michael.
*St. Anne.
St. Elizabeth.
St. Fabian.
*St. Sebastian.
*St. Anthony.
*St. Christopher.
*St. Denis.
St. Blaise.
*St. Thomas (*i.e.*, of Canterbury).
St. Alban.
*St. Giles.
St. Eustace.
*St. Erasmus.
*St. Loy.
St. Leonard.
*St. Martin.
St. William of York.
St. Wilfrid of Ripon.
*St. Katherine.
*St. Margaret.
*St. Barbara.
*St. Martha.
*St. Winefred.
St. Ursula.
*St. Dorothy.
St. Radegund.
St. Agnes.
*St. Agatha.
*St. Apolyne.
*St. Sithe.
St. Clare.
*St. Mary Magdalene.

Those marked * have been identified with more or less certainty amongst the figures in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and we find that out of thirty-nine in the Middleham list twenty-six are found at Westminster, and several others may be there. The star which is put to St. Martha may possibly belong to St. Elizabeth or St. Clare, but at least one of the three may be claimed as being in both lists. And of fourteen female saints at Westminster no less than eleven are found amongst the sixteen named for Middleham. Local circumstances have in each case caused the exclusion or introduction of certain names, but the general agreement of the two lists affords a fair index of the popularity of the saints in England about the year 1500. Excluding duplicates and figures of persons not saints there are sixty-five saints represented at Westminster, where we find all the apostles, evangelists, and doctors, and there are six kings, whilst Richard's list, rather curiously, has none.

# XX.—*On the Recent Discoveries of Portions of Old St. Paul's Cathedral.*

By Francis Cranmer Penrose, Esq. *F.R.I.B.A.*,
*Surveyor to the Fabric of St. Paul's.*

Read 29 May, 1879.

In the spring of 1878 it was requisite to sink a pit, about twelve feet deep, on the south side of the nave of St. Paul's Cathedral, and within a few feet of the walls, for a gas-meter.

Near the bottom of this pit was found a fragment of a foundation which seemed to belong to the old Cathedral. It was evidently not of the Norman construction, because it was partly formed of Norman fragments. It seemed therefore to belong to the cloister or chapter-house.

On comparison of its position with the lines of the old Cathedral shown on a plan preserved in the Wren Collection at All Souls College, Oxford (to a copy of which I had access, and which I call the All Souls Plan[a]), it seemed to belong to the passage leading from the Cathedral and cloister into the chapter-house. Search was immediately made on this supposition for the chapter-house buttresses (the Dean and Chapter having approved of the continuance of the investigation), but without result. Evidently the plan could not be implicitly trusted; but, on a renewal of the search, some evidence of the foundations of the west wall of the south transept was found, and, shortly afterwards, three or four bays of the cloister. From these it was easy to reach out to the buttresses of the chapter-house, two of which were found, with a fine group of base mouldings attached to one of them. Both the south-west and the south-east angles of the cloister were found; and the measurement of the bays, both of those trending east and west and also north and south, was recovered, and presented a difference of nearly three feet in the total extent of the cloister, the east and west extension being the greatest. Thus the two main dimensions of the cloister were recovered, the one by direct measurement the other by strong inference.

[a] Plate XIII. upper plan.

The thickness of the wall south of the cloister was obtained as about three feet six inches, and at the termination of the transept wall was the base of a flat pilaster in Portland stone—the materials generally used being either Caen stone or Purbeck marble—that is for finished work. This Portland stone pilaster was evidently some of Inigo Jones's work, shown in Hollar's engravings.

The discrepancy between the places got by the discoveries and those shown on the All Souls Plan[a] led me to suppose that, as the intention of that plan seemed to be to show the difference between the axes of the two Cathedrals, it might be at any rate trusted so far, and that it was no part of the design of the draughtsman who prepared the plan to care for particular accuracy at the north or south transept or cloister. On this supposition I had a hole sunk on the north of the Cathedral, and at once lighted on the west wall of the north transept, and from it reached the north-west angle of the transept, which terminated, as there was reason to expect, with another Portland stone pilaster, presumably of Inigo Jones's work. I then worked a good deal underground amongst our sewers, in a part where exploration from above was unmanageable, in hopes of finding the north-east angle of the transept, and made several lateral cuttings through the sides of the sewers, but without result, as these foundations seem to have been uprooted entirely.

The works which have been arranged between the Dean and Chapter and the Corporation of London for the improvement and planting of the churchyard gave an opportunity, not to be lost sight of, for making some examinations towards the east, in hopes, first, of finding the foundations of Paul's Cross, and, secondly, of determining the details of the east end. I scarcely imagined that any correction would result to the All Souls Plan,[a] where it so positively showed the coincidence of the axes of the two Cathedrals at the east; but I certainly felt that some confirmation was desirable, as that coincidence necessarily involved a rather large, although not unprecedented, deflection of axis in the old Cathedral, and especially as no such deflection had been shown on any plan, nor mentioned in the account of Sir Christopher Wren's proceedings. So far as inference could be gathered from the *Parentalia*, the question was left undecided, for it is there said, on the one hand, Sir Christopher Wren took more ground to the northward than before (which does not appear to any practical extent on the All Souls Plan), but, on the other hand, he "declined the axis of the new Cathedral more to the north-east than it was before." The natural interpretation of which observation seemed to be, that the old Cathedral axis trended to the north-east, but that of the new Cathedral more so. But I had ascertained that the cloister walls, and

[a] Plate XIII. upper plan.

therefore the nave, inclined to the south-east about 1° 48′. So that if the *total axis* of the Cathedral inclined to the north-east, the choir must have had sufficient deflection to make it so, and it was impossible to attribute to such an astronomer as Sir Christopher Wren an error as to due east and west. The words of the *Parentalia* are thus:—

"It being, therefore, found expedient to change the fonndations, the surveyor took advantage of more room northward, and laid the middle line of the new work more declining to the north-east than it was before, which was not due east and west."

Considering this remark about the north-east tendency of the axis sufficiently weighty to neutralise that about taking more ground to the north, it appeared to me to leave the positive evidence of the coincidence of the two axes at a point near the east end, as shown on the plan, still uncontroverted, but, as I said before, so far shaken as to solicit confirmation.

The first search was for Paul's Cross; and, in choosing the locality for making this search, I was guided especially by two documents,—by a perspective view given in an old engraving preserved in the Pepys Collection at Magdalen College, Cambridge, which shows the Cross from a point to the east of it, and by another plan preserved in the Wren Collection. This plan, however, is wanting in authenticity, because it is stated by the librarian to have been copied for the library by Mr. Buckler. I call it the Buckler Plan. From what older plan it was copied does not appear, and nothing more seems to be known about it. It gives a very incorrect representation of the choir, but an extremely correct one of the cloister and chapter-house. Accordingly I felt it right, as this was the only plan which marked the Cross, to give it great weight, and it is well that I did so, for every other document seemed to point out a greater distance northwards. The Pepysian engraving came nearest to the Buckler Plan, but still showed the Cross at too great a distance from the Cathedral. The valuable picture belonging to this Society[a] (The Antiquaries), as it shows the Cross more from the north, was not taken from so favourable a point of view for determining the distance northwards, but was valuable in helping to fix the eastern limit of the Cross; but it must be remembered that there was some uncertainty as to the eastern limit of the Cathedral, several of the plans giving it an extension which would have carried the east wall forty or fifty feet further than it is now known to be. The preponderance of evidence, however, pointed to its being from fifteen to twenty feet beyond our present east end, and it was upon this basis as respects eastern limits, and upon

[a] Page 387.

that of the Buckler Plan, confirmed by the Cambridge perspective as respects northern limits, that the search was made.

It must also be mentioned that the northern limit was taken on the assumption that the All Souls Plan[a] gave the axis correctly at the east end, whereas it is really erroneous to the extent of about twenty-seven feet at the point at which we required its guidance. Had I therefore given less weight to the Buckler Plan, Paul's Cross would probably have never been found. After one or two trials some chalk foundations were arrived at which invited further examination to the southward of them, and finally on the 31st of March we were repaid by the discovery of a wall, about three feet high, of yellow oolite, apparently Oxfordshire stone, showing an angle of one hundred and thirty-five degrees, and therefore probably belonging to the octagon we were in search of, and with the quoin formed of Purbeck marble. This wall was followed each way, and seemed of such length, after about thirteen feet had been made in each direction, that the disquieting impression could not be kept down that it must be only a churchyard fence-wall which happened to take that angle between the Cathedral and the Cross, especially as it seemed to be making much too near the supposed line of the north wall of the Cathedral. However, two other angles of one hundred and thirty-five degrees each, with rather more than fifteen feet of wall between each, were discovered, and cleared away all misgivings, and then the other angles were looked for. One was found; the rest had been cut away as too near the foundations of the present Cathedral. And at this particular point there was an especial reason for the destruction of all old foundations to a considerable distance. We read in the *Parentalia*:—

"In the progress of the works of the foundations the surveyor met with one unexpected difficulty; he began to lay the foundations from the west end, and had proceeded successfully through the dome to the east end, where the brick-earth bottom was yet very good; but as he went on to the north-east corner, which was the last, and where nothing was expected to interrupt, he fell in prosecuting the design upon a pit where all the pot-earth had been robbed by the potters of old time. . . . . He therefore sunk a pit of about eighteen feet square, wharfing up the sand with timber till he came forty feet lower into water and sea-shells, where there was a firm beach. He bored through the beach till he came to the original clay; being then satisfied, he began from the beach a square pier of solid good masonry, ten feet square, till he came within fifteen feet of the present ground; then he turned a short arch underground to the former foundation, which was broken off by the untoward accident of the

[a] Plate XIII. upper plan.

pit." The foundations of the present Cathedral spread about eight feet outside of the basement wall, so that in performing the operation above recorded all parts of the foundation of Paul's Cross, which came within twenty-five feet of the basement wall, were removed.

The octagonal wall of Paul's Cross, described above, terminated, no doubt, as to its exterior face, with the parapet shown in the old perspectives, and especially in the picture belonging to this Society.[a] The interior face formed the abutment to a brick arch, making a ring vault all round for the purpose of carrying the pavement of the ambulatory round the pulpit, which is also shown in the perspective views. The springing stones or *skewbacks*, as they are called, of this vault still remain. One line of nine-inch brickwork was also found, traversing the octagon centrally from north to south, *i.e.* at right angles to the northern face of the Cross. There were no means of judging whether or no there was a similar wall east and west. I think it is probable that there was. This wall or walls would have had something to do with the carriage of the wooden pulpit.

In the excavations made to find Paul's Cross the upper eighteen or twenty inches was formed of black mould. Then there was invariably an indurated surface, sometimes very roughly paved with brick, elsewhere formed of stone chips. This was evidently the ground inside or around the sheds which were there erected, as is shown by an old engraving, during the rebuilding of the Cathedral. Some fragments of imperfect mouldings, belonging to Sir Christopher Wren's work, were found scattered about. The top course of the wall of Paul's Cross, which was found was about two feet below this stratum, itself stood upon a chalk foundation of variable depth. When first opened, the total depth to the chalk foundation was about six and a half feet.

The diameter of the octagon which we found was about thirty-seven feet, or forty feet from angle to angle.

From a combined study of the perspectives referred to, and the Buckler Plan, it would seem that the diameter of the central erection, which formed the pulpit, was seventeen feet or thereabouts.

Whatever may have been the remote origin of Paul's Cross, there can be little doubt that the remains which have been found are part of the work of Bishop Kemp, who rebuilt it. Kemp's episcopate was a long one, so the date is somewhat uncertain. It may be assigned to about 1470.

As it is well known, Paul's Cross was a "platform" much used for sermons having a political tendency. Distinguished ecclesiastics were summoned to preach

[a] Page 387.

before the Court. The larger part of the congregation were in the open air. There was always a covered gallery for the King's party, and it is mentioned that when the weather was boisterous the sermons were delivered in the *shrouds*. These shrouds must, I think, have been the galleries formed between the buttresses on the north side, which are shown in the perspective views, and to which access appears to have been given by the low turret staircase near the east end.

The sermons at Paul's Cross played a very important part during the Reformation, and witnessed both the floods and the ebbs of that great conflict. Latimer inveighed against clerical abuses; Fisher, Bishop of Rochester in 1521, anathematised Luther in the presence of Cardinal Wolsey as Papal Legate. Sermons in favour of and opposed to Henry VIII.'s divorce were preached from thence, but in 1534, by the King's command, and confirmed by Act of Parliament, anti-Papal sermons were regularly preached.

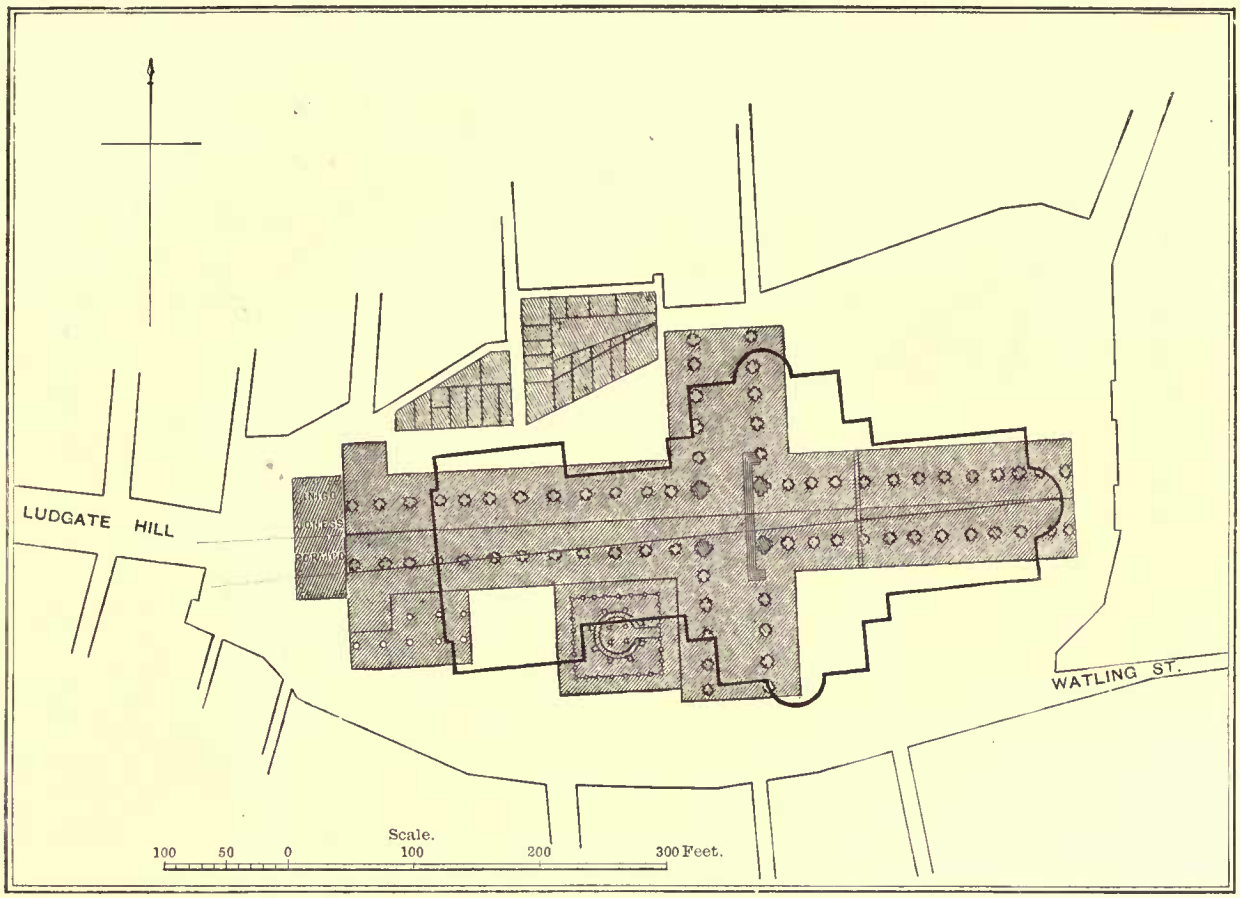
The Cross was still used as it had been in the days of the Plantagenets for political announcements, and on Whit-Monday, 1546, the peace between the Emperor, the King of England, the King of France, and all Christian kings for ever, was proclaimed.

The accession of Edward VI. gave new opportunities for the burning question of the day being heard from the Cross; and still more fiercely, at the accession of Queen Mary, Ridley preached from thence in bold opposition to the Queen. Ridley was imprisoned, and we read of others who were nailed to a pillory at Paul's Cross by their ears. The Cross now gave utterance to sermons against the Reformation until the accession of Elizabeth, who at first prohibited the Paul's Cross sermons, but they were afterwards resumed and continued until the end of Charles I.'s reign. Laud preached there in 1624, and again in 1631.

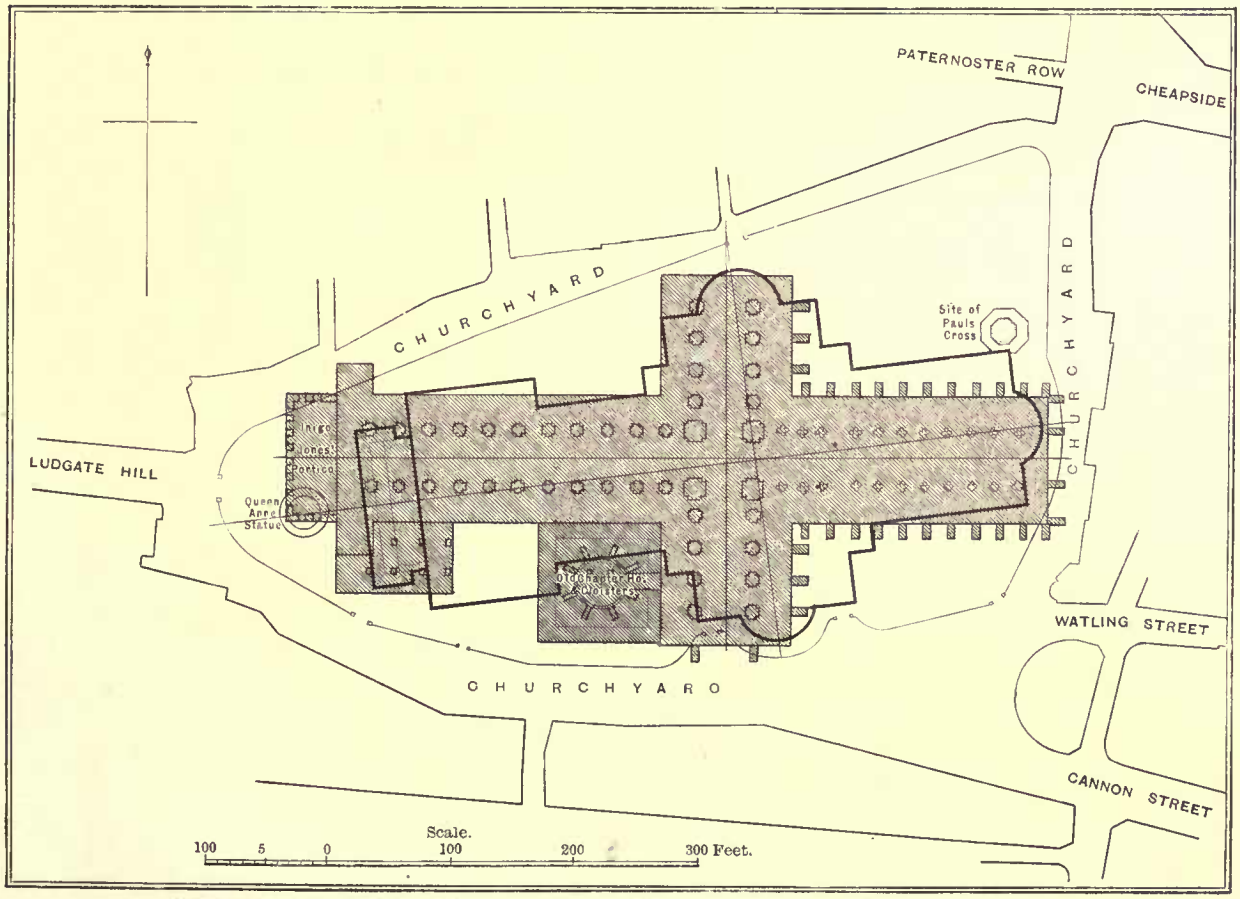
Notwithstanding, however, the aid which it had contributed to the Reformation, the Puritans of the Commonwealth would none of it, and it was levelled to the ground in 1642; that is, to the level at which it has been discovered; and this accounts for its not appearing in Hollar's views or ground plan, who otherwise could hardly have failed to show it, and for the uncertainty which has hitherto prevailed as to its position. The place assigned to it in the Ordnance Survey of London is seventy or eighty feet from that where it was found. Its position is certainly well represented in the Buckler Plan, subject to the very large correction required for the length of the choir as shown in that plan.

The direction of the sides of Paul's Cross were far from being parallel to the assumed axis of the choir following the All Souls Plan,[a] and much more

[a] Plate XIII. upper plan.



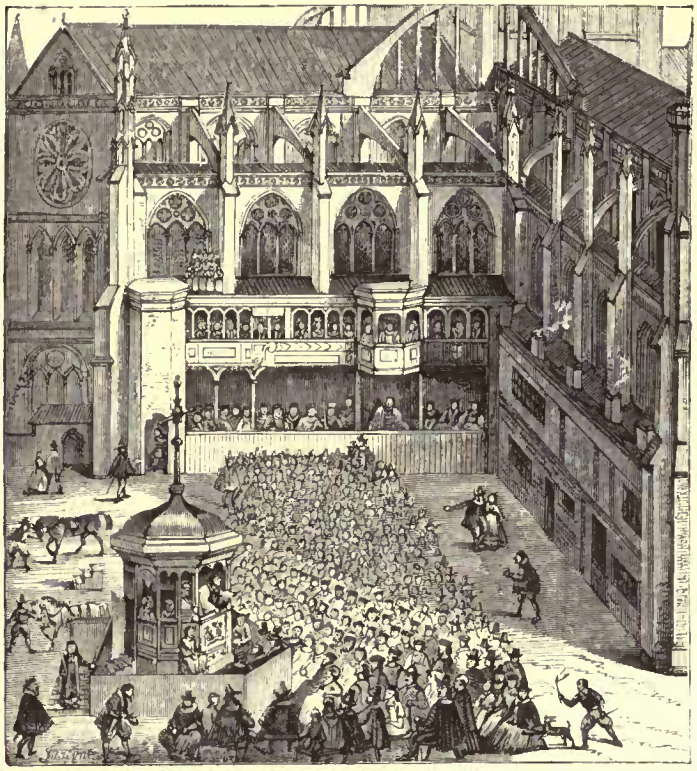

FROM THE PLAN IN THE WREN COLLECTION AT ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD.




FROM THE PLAN DRAWN BY F. C. PENROSE, SURVEYOR TO THE FABRIC OF ST. PAUL'S, 1879.

## THE AXIS AND SITE OF OLD ST. PAUL'S.

corresponding to that of the nave as ascertained from the cloister and transept.[a] The plan in question, however, seemed prepared for this contingency, if the expression may be allowed me, because it showed the east wall very far from square with the north and south walls, and thus still seemed to point to a deflected axis, and that the sides of Paul's Cross, namely, those towards the cardinal points, were parallel to and square with the eastern front.



St. Paul's Cross.

"As it appeared on Sunday, 26th of March, 1620, at which time it was visited by King James I. and his Court, the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen being in attendance; when a sermon was preached by Dr. John King, Bishop of London, recommending the speedy reparation of the venerable Cathedral of St. Paul's, which, with its unsteepled tower, &c., appears in the back or side grounds." From an original picture in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London, which is engraved in Wilkinson's Londina Illustrata, 1811.

There seemed some reason to hope (a hope that has been quite realised) that some remains of the north and south walls, near the east angle, would be found

[a] Plate XIII. lower plan.

under the churchyard wall, and from the plans it seemed likely that the east wall itself and its buttresses would be under the street, and therefore be inaccessible.

The first excavation made to find these walls was on the assumed deflected line of the north wall. There we found no remains whatever; but as this point was quite as much within the influence of Sir Christopher Wren's forty foot pit as those portions of Paul's Cross which had disappeared, I was inclined to attribute their non-existence to this cause.

The next search was for the corresponding south wall on the same hypothesis, and the search was rewarded by part of a buttress base. Only a portion of the northern side of the buttress remained, and a search for the southern side was made, but fruitlessly, except to show a piece of foundation which might have belonged either to a return buttress of the south wall or to an extension of the east wall.

The discovery of this buttress, however, gave much information, namely, the character of the staging and bottom splay of the buttress, and the original street level, but it did not solve the question of the axis, because it might either be the southernmost buttress of the eastern front, and as such it agreed well with the All Souls Plan,[a] or it might be the buttress responding to the southern arcade. The next trial which was made was twenty feet to the north of this buttress, and we found the outer footings of the east wall, and followed them up northwards, in hopes of finding either a buttress ranging with the former one as the south arcade projection on the theory of the deflected axis, or else such a continuance of wall as to indicate the wide central bay. Before, however, it had reached far enough to clear this up the trace was gone, having been uprooted. As I had little hope of finding anything close to the present Cathedral apse, it seemed best to have an excavation made, about fourteen feet southward of the present, for the south wall of Old St. Paul's, on the hypothesis of a straight line produced from the cloister, and there a wall was found, with some old rough pavement to the south of it, about nine feet below the present surface. The direction of this wall was practically square with the front as derived from the buttress, and also nearly parallel to the cloister wall. It was clearly a thick, strongly-built wall, and of the same coarse oolite as the foundations we had already discovered. The external face, however, seemed too rough for the wall of such a Cathedral, and the level of the upper course which remained was such that the splay which had been found on the buttress ought to have shown itself

[a] Plate XIII. upper plan.

upon it if it had been in uninterrupted communication. It still suggested the possibility of its being an adjunct to the Cathedral of some kind, although it certainly turned the scale of probability against the All Souls Plan.[a]

It then seemed worth while to try if there might be something under the very apse itself mixed up with the supports of the churchyard wall. And there indeed, much nearer the surface, and more complete in most respects, was a buttress which at once proved itself to be the projection of the northern arcade of an undeflected choir; so that the plan which had previously been in favour had to be dismissed ignominiously. The probability is that the lines of the old Cathedral had been imported into that plan from some imperfect notes or tradition after all trace of it had disappeared. It shows the present Cathedral and the churchyard very accurately, so that it is evident that the data upon which the old Cathedral is laid down could not have been obtained whilst it was in any part standing; in fact, a rough copy of Hollar's plan seems to have been applied to the plan of the newer buildings. We were able to work sufficiently beyond the churchyard wall to obtain a complete plan of the buttress last found, which at once gave the central axis of the choir.

I should have mentioned that, before this excavation had been made, part of the northern buttress of the east wall had been found, but this had not cleared up the question, as it would have fitted the northern arcade buttress on the other theory quite as well. Its great thickness, nearly nine feet (not reckoning foundations), showed, however, a presumable correspondence with the very large buttresses shown at the angles by Hollar, but at that time no evidence had been obtained of the thickness of the intermediate buttresses. When the discovery of the two arcade buttresses had cleared up the question of the axis it seemed desirable to get, if possible, more evidence of this northern buttress, and further search was made, which resulted in finding a great part of it, and also a fragment of the foundation of the buttress which grouped with it on the north wall of the Cathedral and of the rectangular massive quoin which, as often occurs in the best examples, separated these two buttresses from each other. This feature is shown by Hollar in his perspective but not on his plan.

The total external width of the choir, one hundred and two feet clear of the basement, agrees very well with Hollar's plan, but the length is less. In this respect the All Souls Plan[a] comes nearer, and it may have followed some correct memorandum as to the amount by which the Cathedral was shortened to improve the width of the street.

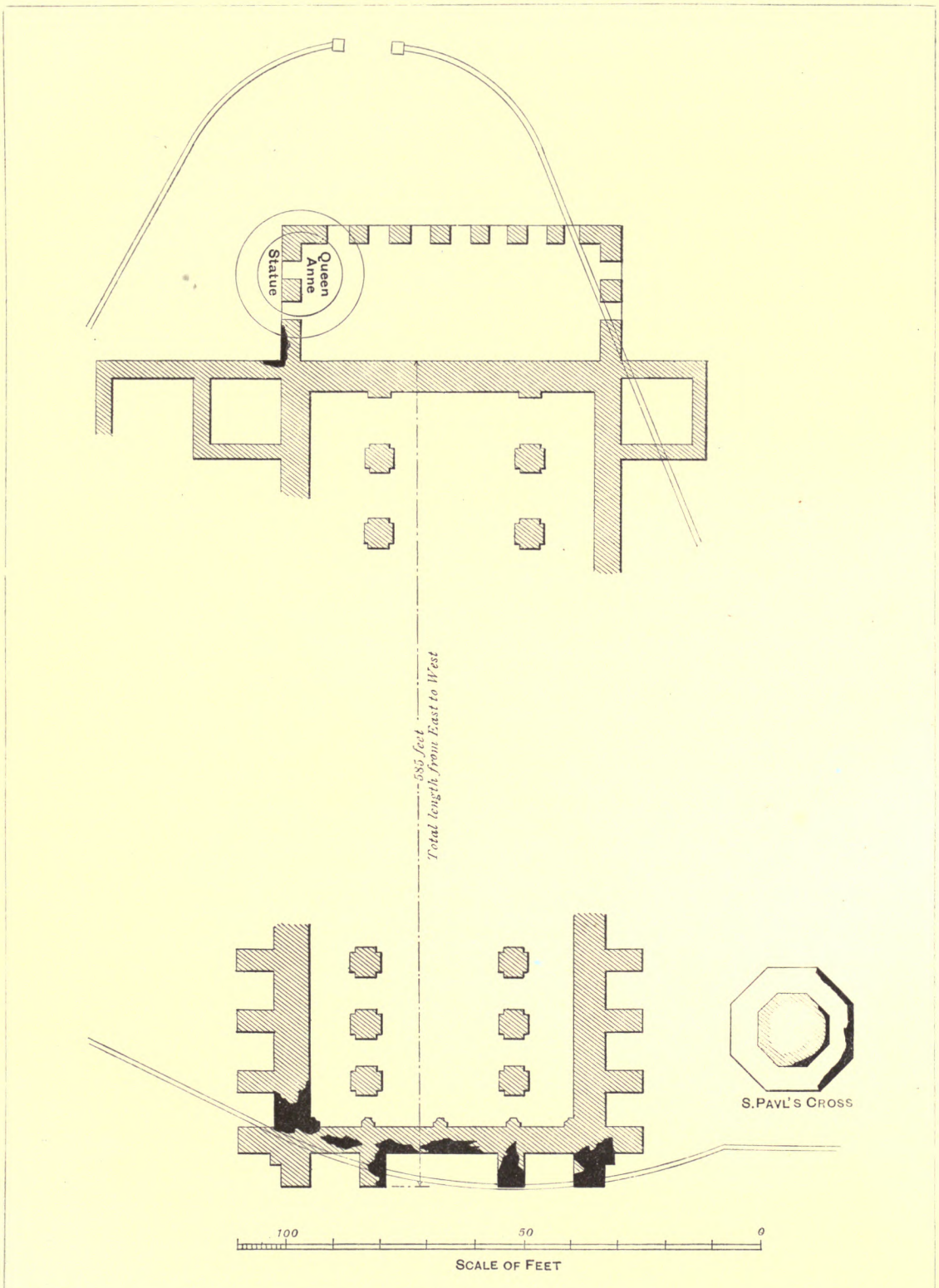
Now that it was established beyond doubt that the wall discovered to the

[a] Plate XIII. upper plan.

south of the present Cathedral was the south wall of Old St. Paul's, and also that the position of the east wall was known approximately (no part of the wall itself had been found, but only the footings and some part of the flank of the buttresses), a favourable hope offered itself that the inside face of the wall might be preserved, and possibly some indications of the shafts of the south-east internal angle of St. Faith's Church, the floor of which must have been below the outside pavement which had been found. The discovery, however, which resulted surpassed expectation, for the entire group of shafts, plinth bases and caps (the latter much mutilated, but enough to guide almost exact restoration), were laid open, and a portion of tiled floor. This floor is raised to the top of the original plinth, viz., up to the level of the bases, and belonged either to a platform raised for an altar, or else shows that the floor itself was raised subsequently to its first building to get away from the damp. The architectural features discovered agree almost completely with Hollar's perspective view, except that the shafts are not so high.

The internal diameter of St. Faith's Church (but it should be observed that the extreme east end, although latterly St. Faith's Church, was originally Jesus Chapel) was eighty-five feet six inches. If we restore the plan from Hollar's data, the width from centre to centre of piers of the central part of the choir above would be forty-two feet. If we deduce it from the central distance of the eastern buttresses the width would be forty-two feet five inches. This shows that the choir must have been narrow for its height, whilst the aisles were wide.

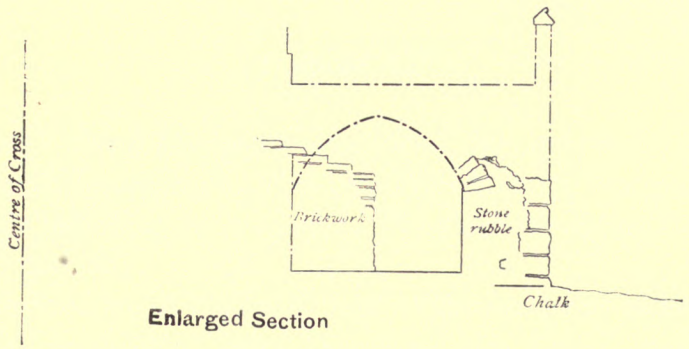
The floor of St. Faith's was four feet below the external pavement which was found on the south side, and about thirteen feet below the present level of the churchyard. The east wall makes an angle of about 6° 10′ with the present Cathedral. The angle obtained from a short length of the south wall is 6° 40′, from Paul's Cross 7° 45′, and that derived from the cloister is 7° 18′. The floor of the cloister is seven feet and a half above that of St. Faith's pavement. The extreme breadth of the transept, omitting the large buttresses shown by Hollar towards the centre of the south transept, was three hundred and three feet. The extreme length, including the eastern buttresses but excluding Inigo Jones's portico, could hardly be less than five hundred and ninety-five feet, and I may in a few days be able to announce this more precisely, because the Dean and Chapter have kindly permitted an excavation to determine this point. I must conclude by also acknowledging the kind co-operation of the City Architect, and of the Committee of the Corporation, in these investigations. It should be stated that means of access to all the important points of evidence have been preserved.



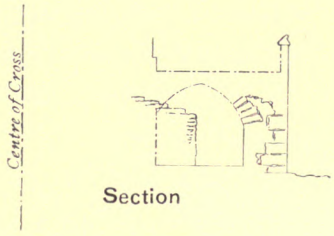

*F. C. Penrose.*

**OLD S. PAUL'S.**

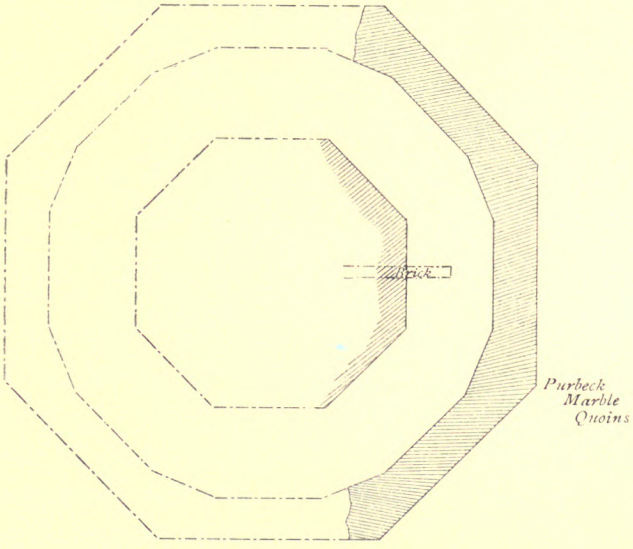
FOUNDATIONS AT THE EAST AND WEST ENDS.
Discovered in 1879.



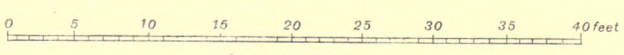

Enlarged Section




Section




Plan




SCALE OF FEET

*F. C. Penrose*

**PAUL'S CROSS.**

PLAN AND SECTION OF FOUNDATIONS.
Discovered in 1879.

## POSTSCRIPT.

The hope with which the paper concluded has not been disappointed, for a search made for the foundations of the west front towards its south-western corner revealed the line indicated on the plan. The place for making the trial hole was selected in this manner.

The general direction of the south wall of the nave was pointed out by that of the cloister wall as deduced from the discoveries already made, but the point where this line terminated at the west front could only be arrived at by conjecture, and the balance of probabilities, as the various representations differed very widely amongst themselves, and the problem consisted in settling the proper proportion between the unknown length of the nave and that of the parts of the church eastward of the west wall of the transept which had already been discovered.

The plans and perspectives, by Hollar, contained in Dugdale's volume, furnished several data. The large collection by Mr. Crace, which at that time was being exhibited at South Kensington, supplied others, and from these and from the Pepysian Library at Magdalen College, Cambridge, All Souls College, Oxford, and the Guildhall Library, upwards of twenty independent indications of length were obtained. Those *à priori* most entitled to credit, seemed to be, first, Hollar's plan, and then what I have already called the Buckler Plan, but it will be evident that neither of them could be of much value by itself, for in that part of the plan which could be compared with the measured distance, instead of three hundred and twenty-three feet Hollar showed three hundred and forty-two, and the Buckler Plan three hundred and eighty-two. However, when all the different data were arranged, with the weights which seemed due to each, and the result taken with reference to their assumed probabilities, a place was pointed out for examination very near Queen Anne's Statue, where fortunately the pavement could be easily moved without disturbing the rest, and, as I mentioned above, I was authorised by the Dean and Chapter to make a trial. At about twelve feet from the surface we at once came upon a piece of foundation of flintwork, which seemed to belong to the southern return of Inigo Jones's portico, and about six feet further to the eastwards; and fifteen feet from the stone curb of the railing round Queen Anne's Statue this flintwork was crossed by the foundations of a wall running north and south, which could be no other than the west front

of the Cathedral. The ground round about the excavation was so rotten that it would have been impossible without serious damage to the pavement, or great personal risk, to make sufficient clearance to do more than ascertain these facts. The walls here had been much more fully grubbed up than those which we found of the cloister, or of the east end, and there was only just enough left to verify them. There could be, however, no doubt whatever that they were the foundations of important walls. This discovery was made on 7 June, 1879, and it determines the total length, exclusive of the western portico, to have been five hundred and eighty-five feet.

[The Society of Antiquaries begs to thank Messrs. Longman for their courtesy in permitting the use of two plates which illustrate the "History of St. Paul's," by its late lamented Fellow, William Longman, Esq.—namely, "St. Paul's Cross," on page 20, and "Projection of Old upon New St. Paul's," facing page 125, of that work. The former plate has been directly used, the latter has been adapted for comparison with Mr. Penrose's latest plan, Plate XIII. lower plan.—H.S.M.]

# XXI.—*The Diamond Signet of Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I.* By Charles Drury Edward Fortnum, *F.S.A.*

Read November 24, 1880.

It has long been known that King Charles I. of England, some two years or little more after his accession to the throne and marriage with Henrietta Maria, a daughter of France, ordered that a diamond should be engraved with his arms, as a signet, designing it probably for his Queen's private use.

Although such signet has been lost sight of and forgotten, the record still exists of payment made to the artist for executing the work, and from it alone have we hitherto derived that knowledge.

In the privy seal books of the office of the Clerk of the Pells, now in the Public Record Office (No. 11, p. 142), we read the following entry:

Francis Walwyn.

"Charles, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

"To the Trēr and Undertrēr of o$^{r}$ Exchecq$^{r}$ for the time being, greeting:

"Wee doe hereby will and cōmand yo$^{u}$ out of o$^{r}$ treasure remaining in the Receipt of o$^{r}$ Excheeq$^{r}$ forthwith to pay or cause to be paid vnto Francis Walwyn or his assignes the sōme of two hundred threescore and seven pounds for engraving, pollishing, Dyamond boart[a] and divers other materialls for the Cutting and finishing of o$^{r}$ Armes in a Dyamond with the ires of the name of o$^{r}$ deerest Consort the Queene on each side. And these o$^{r}$ ires shal be yo$^{r}$ sufficient warr$^{t}$ and discharge in this behalfe.

Two hundred three score and seaven pounds.

"Given vnder o$^{r}$ privy Seale att o$^{r}$ pallace of Westm$^{r}$ the sixtenth day of January in the fourth yeare of o$^{r}$ Raigne.

16 January, 1628.[b]

"Jo: Packer."

[a] Boart, *i. e.* diamond dust.

[b] *i. e.* 1629 of our present computation.

This entry[a] therefore distinctly informs us that on the 16th January, 1628-9, the sum of 267*l.* was paid to one *Francis Walwyn*, a gem-engraver, not otherwise recorded, for cutting, finishing, and polishing a diamond and engraving thereon "*our armes*"—the arms of Charles I.—"*with the letters of the name of our dearest consort* the Queen on each side." There is no command to engrave "our arms impaled with those of our beloved consort," but "our arms" alone, except that they are to be laterally accompanied by the initial letters of that royal lady's name.

In the *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. III. Plate 26, No. vii. which illustrates a communication by Astle in 1792, a seal is figured, supposed to be that of Mary Queen of Scots. It is of lozenge shape, and displays a shield bearing, quarterly, 1 and 4, France and England counter-quarterly (1-4 France, 2-3 England), 2, Scotland, 3, Ireland, surmounted by an open crown, and between the letters M. R. This seal was said to be in the French King's collection at Paris (Louis XVI.), "and," says Astle, "seems to have been used by Queen Mary during her widowhood, and whilst she asserted her right of succession to the crown of England."

But Mr. Astle neither tells us his authority for these statements nor names the material on which the arms are cut; he merely gives us the size of the seal and a magnified engraving of its bearings.[b] Mr. Laing, in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Scottish Seals* (Edinburgh 1850), did not refer to this signet, and he was right, for it bears the arms of England under the Stuarts, not those of Scotland and France. Astle probably accepted it for Mary's, believing, as he states, that it might be that used by her during her widowhood. When she was married to the Dauphin "he quartered the arms of England, which gave great offence in that country," but the Dauphin's seal, so quartered, would not agree with that described by Astle. The seal figured by him could not have been the diamond signet which Gori tells us (*Hist. Dact.* p. 180) that Jacobus Thronus engraved for Queen Mary I. of England, daughter of Henry VIII.; for her shield bore quarterly France and England merely. But whether the signet figured in the *Vetusta Monumenta* was that engraved under order of Charles I. by Francis Walwyn we are not able with certainty to assert, although there is some probability in such an assumption.

For many years past, and perhaps even till the present day, glass copies of a

[a] This record was, I believe, first published by Mr. W. H. Carpenter, in his *Pictorial Notices of Vandyke*, 4to, 1844, and subsequently in Mr. Wornum's edition of *Horace Walpole'Anecdotess of Painting in England.*

[b] Astle's original drawing is in the Society's possession.

seal-ring stone have been sold at Holyrood Palace, passing for the signet of Mary Queen of Scots, the original of which is stated to have been in the possession of the Earl of Buchan.

That the signet, of which these vitreous pastes are copies, had existed somewhere and was an original work executed for royal use, there could be but little doubt, but that it could not have belonged to Queen Mary of Scotland was clearly proved by an able paper on the subject, published in the eleventh volume of the *British Archæological Association's Journal*, at page 76, by Mr. George Vere Irving, who refutes the statement of such a signet ever having been used by that unfortunate Queen. This refutation equally applies to the seal figured by Astle. But Mr. Irving himself falls into error when suggesting the probability of its having belonged to Mary of Modena, the Queen of James II. referring to the fact pointed out by Miss Strickland in her memoir of that amiable and ill-used lady, that many objects which had belonged to her were by some supposed to have, and by others represented as having, belonged to her more renowned namesake, the daughter of James V. of Scotland.

That such attribution was erroneous, Mr. Syer Cuming, in a paper published in the seventeenth volume of the *Journal* of the same *Association*, at page 223, clearly proves, pointing out moreover the all-important fact, probably overlooked by Astle, and certainly by Mr. Vere Irving, that the apparent letter M was not in its simple integrity, but was crossed by a bar between the outer limbs, thereby converting it into a monogram composed of the letters H and M = ⱾⱾ, thus bearing its own evidence that neither Mary Stuart, Mary d'Este, nor Mary the Queen of William III. could have been the owner of such a signet. With the names of one Queen only did such a monogram correspond, viz. Henrietta Maria, Queen of the martyred Charles I. True, it had been suggested by some, anxious to connect the relic with Mary of Scotland, that the H might stand for the initial of her husband, Henry Darnley, but that even at that period of her misguided career she should have ventured to use a signet bearing the arms of England with all its quarterings, *pur et simple*, is improbable. In confirmation of his suggestion Mr. Syer Cuming refers to the fifteenth plate in Pinkerton's *Medallic History*, whereon are figured two medalets or counters of 1628, having on one side the Queen Henrietta Maria's armorial shield, bearing England and France impaled, accompanied by a similar monogram; and on the reverse a high tree in a forest, with the motto SVPEREMINET · OMNES. Curiously enough, Pinkerton states that a counter of Mary of Scotland is known having a similar reverse, but the date, 1628, on the obverse and the arms of Henrietta Maria are

sufficient proof as to whose reign it may be referred. We may therefore reasonably conclude, to use Mr. Cuming's own words, that the "impressions sold at Holyrood Palace as mementos of Scotland's fair Queen were really taken from the signet of the wife of her ill-fated grandson."

It is always difficult to trace every step in the history of objects that have belonged to royal or historical personages, the more so when they lived and died in such troublous times. That the diamond signet was in the hands of the King and Queen in, and probably previous to, 1628[9] is presumable from the fact that payment to Walwyn was ordered by the warrant of January in that year.

Mr. Syer Cuming, in his paper above referred to, alludes to an impossible myth, connecting the stone with Queen Mary of Scotland, that on the scaffold she had given it to Bishop Juxon, with injunction to convey it to her son King James. But Dr. Juxon was then barely five years old. Mr. Cuming however shrewdly suggests that there may be a glimmer of truth in this myth, and that it may, although we have no record of the fact, have been so given by King Charles to Bishop Juxon, who attended him at his execution, and who, it has been said, received the George from his royal master, with instruction to convey it to James the then Duke of York. Whether such were really the case, and whether the stone was ever in the possession of James the Second, we have no positive information, but it is perhaps more probable that it remained in the hands of Henrietta Maria, was taken by her to France, and that sooner or later it was disposed of among other jewels and valuables to meet the necessities of the sadly stricken royal family.[a]

Another episode of its history is seemingly met with in the *Book of Travels* by Jean Baptiste Tavernier,[b] a diamond merchant and jeweller, who visited Persia in about December 1664, four years previous to the death of Henrietta Maria. At page 484 of his first volume (ch. xvii. of book iv.) he relates that in a conversation with the Nazar of the King of Persia at Ispahan, on piercing diamonds, the King asked whether Tavernier, who had brought a fine jewel for his inspection, thought that in Persia there were not artificers as able at stone-cutting as any in his own country; on which Tavernier, to convince the Nazar of his Majesty's error, "*tirant de ma pochète une bague de diamant où sont gravées les armes du Roy d'Angleterre que je luy montray. Des qu'il l'eut vû il parait surpris*," &c., &c. The Nazar then took the ornament for which he was nego-

[a] A curious statement occurs in a letter of 21 Dec. 1640, from Rosetti to Card. Barberini referring to the poverty of the royal family at that time. He writes, "*ed essi ré e regina erano ridotti ad un segno d'infilicita tale che non havevano da mangiare la mattina sequenti se non impeguavano le gioie.*"

[b] Tavernier, J. B., *Voyage en Turquie.* 3 vols. 4to. Paris, 1672-1679.

ciating and the engraved diamond ring to the King, "*pour ce qui est du diamant gravé le Nazar me la raporta et me dit que le Roy s'étoit informé de ce qui étoit gravé dessus. Je me contentay de luy apprendre que c'estoient les armes d'un Prince d'Europe sans vouloir rien ajouter davantage, et me souvenant de ce qui étoit arrivé au Chevalier de Reville dont j'ai fait l'histoire au sujet du feu Roy d'Angleterre, dont les armes estoient gravées sur ce diamant.*"

This "*feu Roy d'Angleterre*" in 1664 could have been none other than the unfortunate Charles I. whose unhappy widowed queen was then still living in exile at St. Germains or Colombe; and I am not aware of any record of a similar diamond signet having belonged to King Charles.[a] It is therefore reasonable to infer that the engraved diamond in Tavernier's possession was, in all probability, that engraved by Charles's order for his Queen.

Nor is it unreasonable to surmise that on Tavernier's return from Persia his engraved diamond may have been acquired by the King of France, and that it may be the same signet as that referred to but inaccurately figured by Astle. The inaccuracies in minor details may have arisen from inattention of the draughtsman or of the copper-plate engraver, working, in all likelihood, from an impression or only from a sketch of the original: hence the absence of the cross-bar to the M, which had also been overlooked by others. The elaboration of the Scottish lion's tail; the foliated head of the harp, and other enrichments, are manifest additions by the artist, who engraved the bearings on a scale nearly five times larger than the lozenge form of the original, which is given alongside. It would have been impossible to execute in *intaglio* upon so small a surface of the gem-stone such detailed ornamentation and finish of the bearings as we see upon Astle's engraved plate.

[a] Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, ed. 1762, ii. 66, ed. 1849, i. 285, states in reference to Charles I.'s jewels: "His George, diamond and seals, which Charles at his execution destined to his successor, the Parliament voted should not be so delivered."

Can this relate to Charles's diamond signet when Prince of Wales, now in the royal collection at Windsor, or to another diamond signet, or merely an ornamental stone?

I find the following memorandum, but the reference has been unfortunately lost from my notes. Either the attribution or the date 1661 must be erroneous:

"*Mem:* The impression of a signet of King Charles I. (or Charles II.?) of somewhat coarse workmanship but evidently cut on a hard stone, occurs upon a letter addressed by him to Cardinal Azzolini on the 7th October, 1661. It is similar in general style, the royal arms surmounted by the crown and between the letters C and R, but whether cut upon a diamond we do not know, nor have I been able to examine the impression."

N.B.—For a record (discovered since the above was in type) of a similar diamond signet having belonged to Charles I., see Postscript.

Whichever may have been the signet in the French King's possession it would doubtless have been cast abroad at the period of the Great Revolution. No such ring or seal is now to be found entered in the catalogue of the collection at the Bibliothèque, nor is it at the Louvre.

We hear nothing more of such a stone until the vitreous paste seals are sold at Holyrood as copies from a signet attributed (but wrongly, as we have shown) to Mary of Scotland, which original is stated to be "from the collection of the late Earl of Buchan." That such a relic should have come into the hands of such staunch adherents to the Stuart cause as were the members of the Erskine family is not surprising, and might be equally probable whether it had been retained by the Queen in her exile or had been conveyed by Dr. Juxon to James Duke of York, or had passed through the hands of Tavernier the travelling diamond merchant, or subsequently had belonged to the royal family of France.

In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford is a shrunken impression in red wax, evidently taken from a cast of the diamond; this impression is entered in the printed catalogue of 1826—three years before the old Earl of Buchan's death—and its accompanying label states that it is an "Impression from the diamond signet-ring worn by Mary Queen of Scots," &c., &c.

There is no record whence this impression came, but it and its label are evidence that it was taken from the diamond in or before 1826, agreeing with the glass copies of the Earl of Buchan's signet sold at Holyrood as far back as 1843, when and where the original, described as "The signet-ring of Mary Queen of Scots, from the collection of the late Earl of Buchan," was exhibited. It will be borne in mind that the record for payment was not made public by Mr. Carpenter till 1844.

The Earl to whom this stone belonged was David Stewart, eleventh Earl of Buchan (sixth Earl of the Erskine family), who was born in 1742, and, retiring from public life, lived latterly, devoting himself to literary and scientific pursuits, for many years at Dryburgh Abbey, with Sir David and Lady Erskine; he was a Fellow of the Royal and of our Society, and he died at the age of eighty-seven in 1829.[a] By the courtesy of the Dowager Countess of Buchan (widow of his nephew and successor) I am informed that "the eccentric Earl David," to quote her words, possessed several objects of great interest and value which were lost sight of after his death. She further informed me that Cardinal Wiseman once

[a] See a biographical notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, obituary, vol. xcix. pt. 2, p. 75.

had a supposed "signet of Queen Mary of Scotland," but "how he got it could never be ascertained, nor do I know where it went to on his decease."

This, although but hearsay, would seem to partially corroborate a statement made in a footnote to Mr. Syer Cuming's paper, viz. that he had been informed by Mr. Vere Irving that the original signet was in the possession of Dr., afterwards Cardinal, Wiseman, "who purchased it at the recent sale of the effects of the Earl of Buchan." When and where this sale took place I have not been able to ascertain, nor is the diamond mentioned in the Earl David's will. It is stated in Mr. Cuming's communication to have once belonged to a Mr. Fielder.

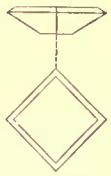
I have been since informed that the signet-ring which was in Cardinal Wiseman's possession was given to his late Eminence by the Misses Nutt, who unfortunately had the stone smartly reset in a modern ring. This was believed to be the one which had been in the collection of the Earl of Buchan, but the stone was, apparently, a ruby not a diamond, and could not therefore have been the stone under consideration. It is now in the possession of his Eminence Cardinal Manning.

Feeling assured that so interesting a relic could hardly have been lost, I had been for some years anxious to trace its whereabouts; and on the death of the late Duke of Brunswick it occurred to me as probable that such a stone might have found its way into that Duke's collection. On procuring a catalogue of the jewels sold at public auction by order of the "Conseil Administratif de la Ville de Genève" I could find no such entry; but on putting myself in communication with the then vice-president of that body, M. Turrettini, I learnt to my great joy that a diamond engraved with the royal arms of England, and supposed to be the signet of Mary Queen of Scots, as also a sapphire ring with nearly similar intaglio, were among the objects reserved from the Duke's collection. I was further enabled, through his courtesy and that of MM. Rossel, the experts charged with the sale, to examine it minutely in juxtaposition with one of the glass copies of the Earl of Buchan's signet, and with the following result. The size of the engraving on the diamond is in all respects larger, by a minute degree, than the vitreous paste, precisely as might be expected from the shrinking of the mould; every minute detail and touch of the graving tool is exactly represented on the glass copy; in short, that the glass was cast in a mould formed upon the diamond of the Brunswick collection there could not be the slightest doubt.

Convinced that I had found the long-lost diamond of the record, I next ascertained that its acquisition was possible. After a wearisome correspondence,

broken off for a year or two and resumed, having satisfied the authorities of Geneva that it was not Queen Mary's, but not having informed them as to whom this costly signet had belonged, I succeeded in negociating for its purchase.[a] I was unable to ascertain from those who had been in the Duke' service, or were intimately associated with him, at what time or from whence he had made the acquisition of this stone, but I have since been informed that it was purchased some fifteen or twenty years since, at a sale of jewels in Messrs. Christie and Manson's rooms by one Van Prague, an agent, who disposed of it to Mr. L. M. Rothschild, a diamond merchant; by him it was transmitted to his correspondent at Paris, Mr. Leverson, also a diamond merchant, by whom it was sold to the Duke of Brunswick.



SEAL OF HENRIETTA MARIA. Outline actual size.

The mounting, as a ring, is modern, made, it is supposed, by the Duke's orders, who purchased the stone unset. It is in poor taste and not of choice workmanship, having the letters M R, the crown, the thistle, and the fleur-de-lis in enamelled relief, designed doubtless under the idea that it was Queen Mary's signet. The diamond is tabular, of considerable size, as may be seen by the accompanying figure; its face is a slightly irregular square, which from the arrangement of the intaglio becomes a nearly equilateral lozenge;[b] although not of the finest water, it is a stone of good lustre and colour. The intaglio is worked with careful accuracy rather than with any attempt at artistic effect, which in fact would have hardly been possible; it must have been a work of patient labour. The shield is entirely sunk and flat, its bearings being thereon incised in still deeper intaglio; it is of simple form, charged with the royal bearings of the

[a] The following is a copy of the letter received from MM. Rossel et fils:

"Nous déclarons avoir vendu a Monsieur C. Drury Fortnum une bague un diamant gravé aux armes royales d'Angleterre avec corps émaillé et certifions que cette dite bague faisait partie de la collection leguée à la Ville de Genève par feu S. A. R. le Duc de Brunswick.

"Genève, le 6 janvier, 1879. "(Signed) ROSSEL ET FILS.

"Experts nommés par la Ville de Genève et chargés de la vente aux enchères publiques des diamants, bijoux, joyaux, &c. dépendant de la succession de S. A. R. le feu Duc de Brunswick."

[b] The true and heraldic lozenge is somewhat longer in its perpendicular than in its horizontal diameter, measuring from the angles; when much elongated it becomes a "fusil": but the square so transposed becomes a lozenge in the general acceptance of that term, although it remains rectangular.

Stuart dynasty, viz.: Quarterly, 1 and 4, England (counter-quarterly, France and England); 2, Ireland; 3, Scotland. On the dexter side of the shield is the monogram of the two letters H and M, on the sinister the letter R. An open crown, that of the Queen, surmounts the shield; its form differs materially from the King's close or cushioned crown, as represented upon the steel and gold signet-ring in the private collection at Windsor Castle[a] (see figure).



SEAL OF CHARLES I.
Double size linear.

It is perhaps curious that the stone should have been detached from its original setting in a ring—if it ever had such a setting—but this may be accounted for by the troublous times and hard circumstances which the members of the Stuart family and their adherents had to endure, and which might have rendered such a step advisable for facility of concealment, or for transmission for sale. That it had been so disposed of and replaced by a copy on a less costly stone might seem from the fact that in Mr. Franks' collection is a ring the stone of which, a white topaz, is engraved with a similar intaglio, evidently intended to be copied from the diamond, but differing in various details. Thus the shield is more concave in the intaglio, not flat as is that upon the diamond; it is somewhat smaller and its sides more rounded; the crown differs materially in detail, but the M has the crossbar to indicate the H. The cutting on the stone is seemingly in its general character more recent than that of the diamond; it is in a simple setting of gold evidently made for it, but which would hardly be of earlier date than the last century. When and wherefore this incised copy—which might have been executed from an impression of the diamond—was made, we cannot say. Other stones and pastes are known on which a nearly-resembling shield and crown are incised between the letters M—without the crossbar—and R, to the consideration of some of which I propose presently to recur.

It would have been satisfactory had I been able to discover among the letters of the unfortunate Henrietta Maria one or more on which was the impress of this diamond signet; but hitherto I have not been so fortunate. Not many of such letters have the seals attached, and, indeed, it becomes a question whether the Queen would have been allowed, surrounded as she was by jealousies on every side, and not being queen by right, frequently to use a signet on which the royal arms of England only are engraved, without impalement of her own. This some-

[a] *Archaeologia*, XLV. 26.

what singular omission is, however, in strict accordance with the record for Walwyn's payment, in which "o$^{r}$ armes in a dyamond with the ires of the name of o$^{r}$ deerest consort the queene" are the words distinctly descriptive of the stone before us, but without allusion to an impalement of the Queen's coat.[a] The Queen would hardly venture, or be advised, to use such a signet except merely on some few of her most private correspondence during the earlier years of her unhappy reign. It probably was used as an ornament only, which was graced while adorning that high-born lady's hand. After her flight to France and the execution of her royal husband, she would hardly have sealed with other signets than those bearing the impalement of her paternal arms of France, as offence might easily have been given to those whose protection she sought, had she sealed with the arms of England alone.

The following seals occur on letters written or signed by that Queen. Among the many preserved in the Barberini Library at Rome I noted two of 1625, probably anterior to her marriage, which are sealed with the arms of France, three fleurs-de-lis in a lozenge surmounted by an open crown. Another, without date, is sealed with two intertwined C's, crowned, in an oval. Another seal has a monogram of the three letters, H, M, A, combined, in a shield with open crown above. But the greater number bear one or other of the two seals generally found upon her letters, viz., a smaller and a larger one having a shield bearing the arms of England in dexter impalement with those of France, surmounted by the Queen's crown, but no initials. By the kindness of Mr. Coxe, the librarian, I learn that these are the seals generally found on her letters preserved in the Bodleian, with this variation,—those used before the death of Charles are surrounded by a wreath or garland; after his death the wreath is replaced by a twisted cord. Laing, p. 19, No. 76, gives one of these as being surrounded by love knots, on a letter in the Seaford collection.

Among the impressions of seals preserved in our library we have the larger one with wreath border, of 1649, and one of equal size with the knotted cord springing from the crown; also a smaller one on which the arms of France are impaled with a shield semée with pellets, perhaps Medici, and having at the sides a monogram of the letters H and M and the letter R. This, however, cannot have been Henrietta Maria, but may with greater probability be a seal of Marie de Medici.

[a] Another reason for this omission may have been the difficulty of executing so many bearings as the impaled coats required, on so small a space and so hard a material.

On the Queen's great seal, of which impressions are in the British Museum, her Majesty is represented in regal costume, seated beneath a canopy, holding the sceptre in her right and the orb in her left hand; on her right is a shield of the arms of England, on her left those of France, each surmounted by a crown. The reverse bears her arms in a lozenge: Per pale, England and France impaling Navarre, the supporters being a lion on the dexter, and an angel, whose drapery is semée with fleurs-de-lis, on the sinister side.

This was doubtless the work of Nicholas Briott, the King's graver, who was ordered by warrant of 6th September, 1626 (Records: *State Papers, Domestic, Ch. I.* p. 573), to execute the King's Great Seal in silver.

Although so able as a medallist and worker in metal, it would seem, however, that Briott was not a gem-engraver, as Francis Walwyn was employed to cut the diamond signet for the Queen.



SEAL OF CHARLES PRINCE OF WALES. Double size linear.

In the private collection of gems and jewels at Windsor Castle [a] is the diamond signet-ring used by Charles I. when Prince of Wales, No. 141 [b] (see figure). Walwyn's skill in engraving upon the diamond must have been established and well known, or he would hardly have been entrusted with the execution of Queen Henrietta Maria's signet. It seems to me therefore reasonable to infer that he had previously worked for the court, and that Prince Charles's signet is also a specimen of his handicraft. In both cases the intaglio is executed with neatness and precision, rather than with any show of artistic power; but it is interesting to know that among the gem-engravers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who have acquired renown by their skilful work in intaglio upon so intractable a material, at least one Englishman can be named whose work is known to us. It seems to have been a fashion in those days among persons of high rank, and wealth sufficient to expend in such costly baubles, to use the diamond as a stone for engraving with their monograms or armorial insignia. This probably commenced in Italy, where *Jacopo da Trezzo* or *Clemente Birago* are said, one or other, to have devised means of working in intaglio upon this hard but easily splintered substance. Philip II. had such an armorial signet, the work of *Treccia* or *Trezzo*, Mary I. of England one by *Jacobus Thronus*.

[a] I would here wish to correct a typographical error in my paper at p. 25 of vol. XLV. of *Archaeologia*, where, under No. 98, "The seal of King Charles I. when Prince of Wales," the letters C R seem to have been printed in error for C P. Also on the next page, line 20, the word "sculptors" is printed in lieu of "scalptors."

[b] *Vide Archaeologia*, XLV. 26.

*Birago* cut a portrait of Don Carlos and the Spanish arms upon a diamond. The signet with crowned monogram of Mary of Modena, Queen of James II., is another instance (see figure). This is referred to by Miss Strickland as "her royal cypher M R interlaced";[a] but she does not notice that the letter J also is united to the M in the monogram. This may possibly have been the espousal ring of Mary of Modena, which was set with a diamond.



MARY OF MODENA.

"One little diamond seal" is mentioned among the objects belonging to King James II. at his death, which was "in the present King's possession," *i. e.*, his son "James III." the Pretender, when the Inventory was made.[b]

Few, however, of such engraved diamonds are known in collections. Some are, I believe, preserved in the Imperial Cabinet at St. Petersburg.

In the Uffizi at Florence there are five, four of which are signets, viz. a large stone engraved with the crowned arms of Portugal; a small oblong square stone with a monogram of M and C and coronet above, that of Catherine de Medici; another with the Medici shield crowned; and a small one with shield of arms and coronet. But the only one of real artistic merit is a large stone of indifferent colour and lustre on which the head of Socrates is deeply and effectively incised.

The eminent jewellers, Messrs. Hunt and Roskell, had a diamond on which a head in profile is cut in intaglio, evidently intended for a portrait. Can this be the portrait of Don Carlos by Birago?

I have alluded to other ring-stones on which the royal arms of England, without impalement, are engraved between the letters M (without cross-bar) and R. Of such no less than five or six are known, all of which probably, as Mr. Perceval notes, "have done duty for Mary Queen of Scots." Impressions of three of these are in our Society's library, and are labelled:

1. "Belonged to Col. Maclean."
2. "Original in possession of the Rev. J. C. Edwards, of Trentham."
3. "Electro of an impression of a ring said to be in possession of a pawnbroker of Carnaby Market."

All these are of lozenge form, sharp at the angles.

That in the possession of Cardinal Manning, if not identical with one of these, may be a fourth.

[a] *Lives of the Queens of England*, 1846, vol. ix. p. 297. The Society of Antiquaries begs to thank Messrs. George Bell and Sons, the present proprietors of that work, for their courtesy in supplying the figure of Mary of Modena's seal. H. S. M.

[b] *Archaeologia*, XVIII. 236.

A fifth is the so-called sapphire of the Duke of Brunswick's collection, which was to be ceded by the Municipality of Geneva to the family of the Duke, together with the onyx vase, portrait miniatures, &c. This is also of lozenge form, with the angles taken off, and is larger than any of the others. I have been assured by two diamond merchants that it is not a real stone but coloured glass only.

By the same parties I have been informed that the Duke had, what he believed to be, Queen Mary of Scots' signet-ring, but that the original stone was replaced by a copy; that on his purchasing the engraved diamond he had the copy (may be one of these so-called sapphires) taken out and the diamond inserted in its place, believing that the gold work of the ring was genuine. It is quite possible that the modern setting in which we now see the diamond, and which, by its ornamentation, has evidently been made to pass for Queen Mary of Scots' ring, is a forgery in which perhaps the so-called sapphire was set, and which had been palmed upon the Duke by some nefarious dealer; that he, still believing the setting to be genuine, had, on his purchase of the engraved diamond from another quarter, caused the blue glass to be taken out and the diamond inserted in its place, they being of approximate size. This would account for the recent tooling now seen upon the bezil.

I think it more than probable that some, at least, of those seal-ring stones, impressions of which are in our library, are also forgeries which have been got up for sale as the hapless Queen Mary's signet.

There is yet another, the sixth of our list, which deserves more consideration. It is a ring belonging to Miss Hartshorne, a notice of which occurs in the eighteenth volume of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, at p. 277, 26 February, 1862. It is of gold, enamelled, and set with a sapphire of inferior colour and of oval form, thus differing from all the others, as it does also in the form of the crown and other details. The shield has the same bearings, and is between the letters M without cross-bar (the "faint trace of a transverse stroke" being purely accidental) and R. On each shoulder of the hoop is a "rose brilliant," or, according to Mr. Soden Smith, the rose of England in coloured enamel. This ring was also exhibited at the Loan Exhibition of Ancient, &c. Jewellery, held at the South Kensington Museum in 1872 (No. 936, catalogue), and described by its owner "the signet-ring of Henrietta Maria," believed to be the council seal for the Queen's Majesty, "made by warrant of 6th September, 1626."

But on reference to the Records (see p. 403) I find that the warrant dated 6th September, 1626, is "to give order unto His Majesty's graver" (Nicholas

Briott) "for ye making of a great seald of silver and a privj seald and signett of gould and a councell seald of silver for ye Queen's Ma^tie according to such patterns as shall be sent unto them," &c. There is nothing of an engraved sapphire signet-ring.

Miss Hartshorne, in her interesting volume entitled *Enshrined Hearts*, at page 328, states that mistakes having arisen in the use of her name, Henriette, the King commanded that she should be called "Queen Mary," and that at her marriage she wore "a magnificent signet ring, a sapphire engraved with the royal arms and the letters M R," referring to this ring which was then in the possession of the Bishop of Ely. Miss Hartshorne gives no authority for these statements, nor do her references and inferences in respect to this ring seem quite convincing. Moreover, it is hardly probable that the Queen elect would have dropped the initial of her first name, Henriette, in anticipation of its being misunderstood by the English.

Whichever may be genuine—as I believe Miss Hartshorne's to be—of these M R signets, we may feel assured that they were not made for Mary I. for Mary of Scotland, nor for Henrietta Maria. It has been suggested that Mary of Modena, the Queen of James II. may have been the owner, but she could not have used the arms of England, *pur et simple*, while Duchess of York, nor for twelve years after her marriage; and it is hardly likely, surrounded by jealous enemies as she was on coming to the throne, that she would have repeated the heraldic omission that we see on Henrietta Maria's diamond, and exposed herself to unnecessary blame. On her private correspondence she frequently used her diamond monogrammatic signet, another nearly similar, of which we have an impression in the Society's library; and for more public use, that with the arms of England in dexter impalement with those of Esté and Ferrara. I believe that we shall be nearer the truth in ascribing these signets (when genuine) as for the use of Mary II. the Queen of William, who alone of these Queens could correctly use the royal armorial. Such a signet might well be needed when her husband, absent at the wars, had left the throne—her's by right of birth—entirely to her keeping. Such might have been Miss Hartshorne's ring, and by comparison we find that the form of the crown on it differs materially from that on Henrietta Maria's diamond, agreeing rather with what we see on seals which closed some of Mary II.'s letters. Such of those letters as are preserved in the Record Office are sealed, some with a profile head, others with a somewhat loosely-contrived monogram of W and M, the letter R being on each outer limb of the W, with a crown above supported by two cupids; or a smaller monogram composed by a

letter M, each outer limb of which is formed into an R; a cornucopia, whence emerges a cupid, being on either side, and a crown surmounting.

I regret that I have been prevented from continuing a search among the letters of those royal ladies for impressions of the engraved diamond used by Henrietta Maria, and also of the sapphire armorial signet (of which she may possibly have had more than one), which I believe was engraved for the use of Queen Mary II. consort of William III. Such impressions may exist, and it is hoped that the present notice may direct the attention of those who can more conveniently refer to letters preserved in public and private libraries, with the view to discovering seals impressed by these signets.

## POSTSCRIPT.

### King Charles's Diamond Signet.

Since the foregoing was set up in type, the following interesting information has been kindly afforded me by our Director, Mr. H. S. Milman. On reference to page 5, and the footnote there, it will be inferred that some suspicion existed in my mind of a diamond signet having been used by the King, but of which I knew no record. In fact there is evidence pointing to two diamonds engraved with the arms of King Charles I. for use as signets, the King's and the Queen's, each bearing also the appropriate initials.

Our Director informs me that the earliest notice of the King's diamond signet is to be found in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, under the life of Thomas Herbert, the devoted attendant of the King, who was created a baronet at the Restoration. Wood states that he received from Sir Thomas an account of the King's last days, and relates, from this account, that the King came to Windsor just before Christmas day, 1648, and that while he was at Windsor the following incident occurred:

"One night, as the King was preparing to go to bed, he wound up both his "watches as his custom was, one being gold the other silver, and missing *his* "*Diamond Seal, a Table that had the King's Arms cut with great curiosity, and* "*fix'd to the Gold Watch by a Gold Chain,* he could not imagine when or where "he dropt it, yet thought that he had it the day before when he looked upon his "watch as he walked upon the long Tarras. At length, after Mr. Herbert had "made great search for it in the walks that his Majesty frequented, but in vain, "his Majesty the next night described it sparkling at one end of his chamber by "the help of the charcole fire and the wax lights then burning in the said "chamber."

Wood further states on the same authority that at Whitehall, on the 29th of January, 1648-9, the King gave to his children, the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, "all his jewels save the George he wore."

We thus trace the King's diamond signet as probably in the possession of his children upon the date last mentioned.

The impression upon the letter to Cardinal Azzolini must have been from this signet.

We seem to meet either with this same signet, or with that of the Queen, set in a ring, in the hands of Tavernier in 1664.

Finally, we find a statement in Mr. Palmer's MS. Life of Dr. Baldwin Hamey, jun., preserved in the Library of the College of Physicians, that on the Restoration, Dr. Hamey presented to the King a valuable relic of Charles I., a diamond ring, on which were curiously cut the arms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and which had cost the Doctor £500. (Dr. Munk's *Roll of the College of Physicians*, "Baldwin Hamey, Jun., M.D.")

Seeing that the King's diamond signet was set in a handle, was worn attached by a gold chain to his gold watch, and was retained by him until his death, we may reasonably presume the same facts of the Queen's diamond signet. The Queen lived until 1669. The minute account of her latter days given by Miss Strickland throws no light on the fate of her diamond signet.

The "one little diamond seal" belonging to King James II. at his death may have been either his father's signet or his mother's signet,—the latter, if his father's had already been set in a ring.

King Charles I.'s diamond, which (together with his George, Garter and two seals) was seized after his death by the Parliament, and the transmission of which to his son was refused by their order (Journals of the House of Commons, 31st Jan. 1648-9) was probably facetted, but not engraved; and worn as an ornament on the hat-band.

---

There can be no doubt, first, that the diamond signet engraved by Walwyn and long lost to sight reappeared at Edinburgh in the present century and was the original of the glass signets sold there; secondly, that the impression now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford and that engraved in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xi. 76; xvii. 223, are from that signet (original or copy); thirdly, that it was sold at Messrs. Christie and Manson's about twenty years ago; and, lastly, that it is the stone now under consideration.

---

XXII.—*Some Historical Aspects of the English Law of Attainder and Forfeiture for High Treason. Communicated by* ALFRED BAILEY, Esq.

Read February 23, 1882.

A KNOWLEDGE of the working of the English Law of Attainder and Forfeiture for High Treason is essential to a proper understanding of the History of England in the Middle Ages, especially during the period of the Wars of the Roses.

Perhaps the working of the law can be shown best in individual cases. Let us select as examples the fortunes of the dignities and estates which but for forfeiture and other intervening circumstances would have centred in the ill-fated Edward Earl of Warwick, last male scion of the splendid House of Plantagenet.

These were :—

1st. The titles and estates which accrued to Richard, eldest son of Ralph Neville Earl of Westmoreland and his second wife Joan Beaufort, by his marriage with the heiress of the Montacutes, Earls of Salisbury.

2ndly. Those which accrued to their eldest son Richard, "the king-maker," by his marriage with the heiress of the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick.

3rdly. Those of Clarence.

4thly. As I think I shall show, those of York. And I may perhaps fairly add—

5thly. The Crown itself.

Although the Neville estates, settled as the appanage of the issue *male* of Earl Ralph and Countess Joan, would not have devolved on Edward Earl of Warwick, yet I shall have occasion to refer to them.

I commence my narrative shortly after the accession of Edward the Fourth in 1461, and trace the previous history of the titles and estates so far as is necessary for my purpose.[a]

[a] The narrative will probably be made more clear by reference to the Genealogical Table at the end of this Paper.

At this time Richard Earl of Warwick, the king-maker, was possessed of the Neville appanage, and of the titles and estates of the Montacutes in his own right, and of the titles and estates of the Beauchamps through or in right of his wife.

The title and estates of York and the Crown had devolved on Edward.

The title and estates of Clarence were vested in George, the King's next surviving brother, by the King's gift.

Let us trace first the devolution of the vast estates and illustrious titles then vested in the king-maker. His paternal grandfather, Ralph first Earl of Westmoreland, had taken for his second wife Joan Beaufort, the legitimated daughter of John of Gaunt. He seems to have married her at some time between the 30th of September, 1399 (the day of Henry the Fourth's accession), when he is styled by the King, "dilectus et fidelis *affinis* noster" (he was the King's relation by marriage through his first wife, a Stafford), and the 26th of November of the same year, when we find a state missive addressed, "Radulpho Comiti de Westmoreland carissimo nostro *fratri*."[a]

By his first wife Earl Ralph had two sons and several daughters. His eldest son by his first wife died in his lifetime, leaving a son who succeeded his grandfather in the Earldom of Westmoreland. Before Earl Ralph's death, his daughter Cecily had married Richard Duke of York, lineal heir of Lionel Duke of Clarence, and of Edward the Third.

Earl Ralph appears to have settled Sheriff Hutton and Middleham and many a good acre of land in Yorkshire and elsewhere on his issue by his royal or semi-royal second wife. He died in 1425.

Earl Ralph's heir was little pleased with a settlement which cut him "from the best of all 'his' land a monstrous cantle out." A bitter feud broke out between the two families of the Earl after his death and was with difficulty composed by the intervention of the Crown.[b] The rankle of the quarrel produced this singular result, that, whilst the descendants of the Lancastrian countess espoused the cause of her Yorkist son-in-law, Duke Richard, husband of her daughter Cecily, the heir of Westmoreland remained faithful to the Red Rose.

Richard, eldest son of Ralph and Joan, inherited the Neville appanage. He married Alice, only child and heiress of Thomas de Montacute Earl of Salisbury and Baron Montacute, the "mirror of all martial men,"[c] who was slain at the siege of Orleans. The claims of female heirs to earldoms seem to have been less precise than their claims to baronies descendible to all the issue of the first

[a] Rymer, *Fœdera*, orig. ed. vol. viii. pp. 89 and 107.

[b] Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, p. 1.

[c] Shakespeare's *King Henry VI.* part 1, act i. s. 4.

baron.[a] Something of the old Saxon tradition, that an earldom was an office of State, and not an hereditary dignity, still clung round the title. It appears, that an earldom was held to be descendible to a sole heiress, at least, if confirmed by the Crown; but it is not equally clear that it was partible amongst coheiresses. However, Richard Neville, for greater certainty, procured himself to be confirmed in the Earldom of Salisbury by patent tested on the 4th of May, 1442.

He was beheaded in December, 1460, after the battle of Wakefield. He, his wife, and his son the Earl of Warwick, had been attainted by the Parliament convened by Henry the Sixth at Coventry, "Queen Margaret's bower"; but all the acts of this Parliament were reversed by the next, which met at Westminster after Henry had been taken prisoner at Northampton.

After Edward the Fourth's accession Parliament completed the reversal of the attainder (effected in Henry the Fourth's reign) of John Earl of Salisbury, father of Earl Thomas, and accordingly the Salisbury titles and estates, confirmed and aggrandised by the reversal of the attainder, were now vested in Earl Richard's eldest son, the king-maker.

He had already married Ann de Beauchamp. She was the only sister of the whole blood of Henry de Beauchamp, last Earl and first and last Duke of Warwick of that family; and on the death in 1449 of the Duke's only child, also named Ann, styled Countess of Warwick, who had no issue (indeed she died a mere child), Richard's wife became heiress of all the estates of which her niece died seized.

Duke Henry had three sisters of the half-blood by his father's first marriage, but they, being only of half-blood to him and his daughter, could not inherit the vast estates of which the Duke and his daughter died seised. There seem to have been other Beauchamp estates, the dower of the Duke's mother, who survived both the Duke and his daughter, and of which neither the Duke or his daughter ever had seisin; the descent to these would accordingly be traced from the Duke's father, and pass to his four daughters. The possessions of the king-maker's wife were increased by the reversal of the parliamentary attainder (effected in Henry the Fourth's reign) of Thomas Lord le Despencer and Earl of Gloucester, of whose coheiresses the king-maker's wife was one.

The question, whether Duke and Earl Henry's sister Ann succeeded to his earldom, as well as to his estates, was probably one of great nicety (depending, I apprehend, on the will of the Crown rather than on strict rights), but was eluded,

[a] See the comments on the Lords Report on the Dignity of a Peer, in Courthope's edition of Nicolas' *Historic Peerage.*

first by the confirmation of the king-maker as Earl of Warwick, on the 23rd of July, 1449; and, secondly (on his resignation of this confirming grant), by the issue on the 2nd of March, 1450, of letters patent, by which it was provided that Richard should be Earl of Warwick during his life, that his wife Ann should be Countess of Warwick for her life, and that, after the deaths of Richard and Ann, the heirs of Ann should be Earls of Warwick.

Thus, at the period at which our narrative commences, the king-maker was possessed of the Neville appanage, of the titles and estates of the Montacutes, and of the dignity of Earl of Warwick in his own right, and of the bulk of the Beauchamp and of part of the Despenser estates in right of his wife.

His and his wife's only children were Isabel, afterwards wife of George Duke of Clarence and Ann, afterwards wife, first of Edward Prince of Wales, son of Henry the Sixth; and secondly, of Richard Duke of Gloucester.

The Dukedom of York and estates conferred upon Edmund of Langley, fifth son of Edward the Third, had before this time accrued to Edward the Fourth, on the death at Wakefield of his father, Duke Richard. They had passed from Edmund to his eldest son Edward, and when Edward fell at Agincourt without leaving issue had devolved upon Richard Plantagenet, son of Edward's only brother Richard Earl of Cambridge. Earl Richard, had indeed, at the beginning of Henry the Fifth's reign been executed, and also by Act of Parliament attainted; but this Act especially provided that the attainder should have no other effect than would have been caused by the Earl's attainder by conviction of high treason at common law.

The consequence of such an attainder at common law would have been that the young Richard could not take any title which had belonged to or would have devolved on his father by virtue of a summons to Parliament, or any estate which had belonged to or would have devolved to his father in fee simple, but would not have extended to either title or estate which had belonged to or would have devolved on his father in tail. In the latter case Richard had only to prove that he was the heir in tail in order to be entitled to the title or estate notwithstanding the corruption of his father's blood. His father's corruption of blood did not make him illegitimate or prevent him from deducing his heirship in tail to Edmund of Langley through his father, any more than it afterwards prevented him from deducing his heirship to his maternal uncle, the Earl of March.

And I think it is clear that on the death of his uncle Edward Duke of York he not only became entitled to, but enjoyed the entailed title and estates of his grandfather Edmund Duke of York.

On an inquisition taken at Westminster in the December following the battle of Agincourt, it was found that Edward Duke of York had died seised in tail male of property which had been granted to his father Edmund in tail male, and that Richard, son of Richard, was Edward's kinsman and next heir. In fact at the present day, notwithstanding the Acts[a] of Henry the Eighth, under which estates tail in possession were made forfeitable for high treason, an entailed dignity or estate would not be forfeitable for high treason where the traitor had died before the succession had devolved on him.[b]

The young Richard appears to have been recognised as Duke of York from the time of his uncle Edward's death. At least in the first year of Henry the Sixth's reign we find that he was thus styled, and I think it as clearly provable as a negative proposition can be that Richard was never restored in blood until the accession of Edward the Fourth. Upon the death of his maternal uncle, Edmund Mortimer Earl of March (in the fourth year of Henry the Sixth), Richard succeeded to the Earl's vast estates, and to yet more, to the Earl's fateful claim (through Philippa, only child of Lionel Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward the Third) to the Crown of England.

It is melancholy to reflect that the marriage between Richard of Cambridge and Ann Mortimer, so fatal to the constitutional Kings of England of the House of Lancaster, had been effected with the generous approval of Henry the Fifth whilst Prince of Wales, who also on his accession created Richard, Earl of Cambridge, and endowed the Earldom. Had Henry indeed been an "Amurath," had he cut off the sons of the House of Mortimer by the sword and mewed up its daughters in convents, there would have been no Edward the Fourth to destroy his line. England would indeed have been spared the Wars of the Roses, but who dare say that a peace thus gained would have been one for the happiness of England? As it was, the fifth Henry trod that path of honour and generosity which, though fatal to his descendants, has left the glory of the hero of Agincourt an unsullied, nay, more, an ennobled possession to England.

In 1474 Edward the Fourth created his second son Richard, Duke of York. I shall hereafter consider whether the Dukedom of York and the estates con-

[a] 26 Henry VIII. c. 13, 33 Henry VIII. c. 20.

[b] The decision by virtue of which James second Duke of Atholl was succeeded on his death in 1764 by his nephew John, son of the attainted but then deceased Lord George Murray, seems to me conclusive on the point. The English law of forfeiture for high treason applied then to Scottish dignities and estates.

ferred on Edmund of Langley were, as is generally assumed, *permanently* merged in the Crown on Edward the Fourth's accession.

The Dukedom of Clarence was conferred by Edward in the year after his accession on his next surviving brother, George, and was enriched with valuable estates.

The first cloud which overshadowed the brightness of the "sun of York" was the marriage of Clarence with Isabel, eldest daughter of Warwick. Both Clarence and Warwick were now deeply discontented with the King. Edward had offended Clarence on a point on which young nobles of the Middle Ages were peculiarly susceptible. Clarence had reached the ripe age of twenty years, yet the King, his brother, had not provided him with an heiress for his wife, nay, had given away several eligible ones to others, especially his wife's kinsmen. Warwick had rendered to the King services almost too great for reward; perhaps in his secret heart he thought that the only fitting recompense the King could make would be to share his throne with the king-maker's daughter. If such grounds of discontent existed, the marriage of Clarence and Isabel would be the more gratifying to Clarence and his father-in-law in that it was distasteful to the King. It is said that Edward threw obstacles in the way of procuring the Pope's dispensation to the marriage of the cousins, which were only removed by the intervention of Louis XI. of France.[a] The marriage took place, despite the King's opposition, in 1469, at Calais, of which important fortress Warwick was governor.

Two children only of the marriage attained maturity, Edward, the future Earl of Warwick, and Margaret, the future Countess of Salisbury.

In the spring of 1470 the estrangement of Clarence and Warwick from the King had gone so far that Warwick, Clarence, and Isabel took refuge at the French Court. Here Louis XI., with much difficulty, reconciled his cousin Margaret of Anjou with Warwick. The lifelong antagonists at length arrived at an agreement, according to which the restoration of the House of Lancaster was to be attempted by the forces of both, and in case of success Henry the Sixth's son Edward was to marry Warwick's daughter Ann, and the Crown of England was to be settled on Henry the Sixth and his male issue, and failing such, on Clarence and his male issue. An entail on the male issue of Edward the Third had long been a favourite object of the Lancastrian kings, who were Edward's heirs male, and was grateful to the French King as cutting away the ground on which Edward the Third and his descendants had claimed the French Crown. During Henry the Sixth's brief restoration, the agreement was embodied in an

[a] Carte's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 776.

Act passed by an assembly which claimed to be, but is not recognised in English history as, a Parliament.

The alliance between Margaret, Warwick, and Clarence was marred by the defection of "false, fleeting, perjured Clarence," who joined Edward on his march from Ravenspur to London, and the forces of Warwick and Margaret were crushed on the fields of Barnet and Tewkesbury. In the former fell the great king-maker and his brother, the Marquis of Montague; and at Tewkesbury, the "gallant, springing, brave Plantagenet," sole offspring of Henry the Sixth, was either slain in the battle or murdered after it. The "princely novice" was soon followed to the grave by the veteran in calamity, his father, once King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland. According to the Act of Henry the Sixth's last parliamentary assembly, Clarence was now entitled to the Crown.

Shortly after Edward's restoration, Richard of Gloucester, who, though apparently not untempted, had remained stanch to the King, his brother, sought out and discovered the retreat of his cousin Ann, younger daughter of the king-maker slain at Barnet. She appears to have been concealed by the act of Clarence, who pertinaciously insisted that even if Richard should marry Ann, Clarence "would part no livelihood."

It was, however, in fact, a sufficient livelihood even for two. We must discard the popular notion, that the king-maker was attainted by Edward the Fourth, in life or in death. He could only have been attainted, either by his conviction of high treason at common law in his lifetime,[a] or by Parliament. But he fell at Barnet, before he could be brought to trial; and was not, I think, ever attainted by Parliament after it.

During Edward's reign the interests of the King's brothers, Warwick's sons-in-law, were opposed to any such attainder. Richard the Third, indeed, when King, would have profited by such an attainder, which would have confiscated for the Crown Isabel of Clarence's moiety of her ancestral estates. He may, however, have been restrained from doing so by unwillingness to incur the unpopularity which the attainder would have provoked, especially among the king-maker's partisans, or by better motives. As for Henry the Seventh, it seems morally impossible that he could have attainted Warwick for restoring Henry the Sixth. I must, however, notice a document to which my attention has been drawn by your Director, to whom I am much indebted for this as for many other valuable suggestions touching the subject of this paper. It is a grant made in the first year of Henry the Eighth's reign, of the perpetual chantry of Sheriff Hutton, "ad nostram donationem ratione forisfacturæ et

[a] Stat. 34 Edward III. c. 12.

attinctionis *Ricardi* ultimi comitis Sarum spectantem."[a] I am pleased that your Director and I, after discussing the matter together, agreed in concluding that the name of Richard (more popularly associated with the Earldom of Salisbury than that of Edward) was put by mistake for the name of Edward, Clarence's son. In fact, Sheriff Hutton did not form part of the Salisbury estates; but I find in the records so many mistakes concerning the Neville, Salisbury, and Warwick estates that I attach little importance to this. Sheriff Hutton and Middleham, and doubtless the rest of the Neville appanage, were really confiscated to the Crown by two Acts of the first and eleventh years of Henry the Seventh, in the latter of which Sheriff Hutton and Middleham are expressly named, as being parts of the lands of which Richard the Third died seised, and this although Richard's interest in these estates determined with his life (the Marquis of Montague's male issue being then extinct), and the estates on Richard's death had vested in Lord Latimer, great-grandson and heir male of Earl Ralph and Countess Joan of Westmoreland. Notwithstanding the saving clause in the Act of the eleventh year of Henry the Seventh for every person other than King Richard and his heirs, Lord Latimer does not seem to have claimed, perhaps thought it not prudent to claim, the Neville appanage.

The estates of which the king-maker died seised were the following:

1st. Those of Salisbury. Of these he appears to have had the fee simple; and on his death they of course passed to his two daughters.

2ndly. The Neville appanage. This appears to have been settled on the male issue of Earl Ralph and Countess Joan of Westmoreland,[b] and were now, by the death of the king-maker, without issue in the male line, and the death of his next brother, the Marquis of Montague, which also took place at the battle of Barnet, but a few minutes after the death of Warwick,[c] vested in the Marquis' eldest son, the ill-used George Duke of Bedford. The Countess of Warwick was, of course, entitled to dower out of both these estates.

3rdly. The Beauchamp and the Despenser estates, of which Warwick was seised in right of his wife Ann. These and the title of Countess of Warwick were now vested in her.

It appears, that Edward, before his brother Richard had married Ann Neville, had promised the whole of the king-maker's estates to Clarence, possibly on the ground that Ann had incurred forfeiture of her half of them by adhering to the

[a] *Let. & Pap. Henry VIII.* vol. i. doc. 180.

[b] See Common Pleas, Feet of Fines, York, ca. 13, 9 Henry IV. No. 8.; *Rot. Parl.* vi. 124 b. and 391 b.

[c] Hall's *Chronicle*, ed. 1809, p. 296.

Lancastrian cause. He, indeed, behaved most generously to his unstable brother George. He not only forgave his desertion, but created him Chamberlain of England, and Viceroy for twenty years of Ireland, and Earl of Warwick and Salisbury. But, after the marriage of his loyal brother Richard with Ann Neville, Edward, not without some justification, thought himself absolved from his hasty promise to Clarence.

He first took advantage of the fact that Middleham, and Sheriff Hutton, and the rest of the Neville appanage, had not descended on the daughters of the king-maker, but were now, by virtue of the settlement before referred to, vested in George Duke of Bedford as heir male of Earl Ralph and Countess Joan.

In considering the history of this period one must always bear in mind that estates tail were not until the reign of Henry the Eighth forfeitable for high treason, except by Act of Parliament, any more than were estates held by feoffees to the use of the attainted person. Accordingly it had become the practice during the Wars of the Roses for the victorious party to pass particular Acts of forfeiture of the estates, whether in fee tail, in fee simple, or in use, of their vanquished foes.

At the joint request of Clarence and Gloucester the King forbore to press the passing of such an Act against the Marquis of Montague. But he procured the passing of two Acts, by one of which Middleham and Sheriff Hutton and other portions of the Neville appanage (amongst which we find the interesting name of Wilberfoss, the original seat of the Wilberforces), were settled upon Gloucester, and by the other of which the manor of Clavering, in Essex, and the great mansion of Herber, in the city of London, were similarly settled on Clarence, during the existence of issue male of Montague, and even on failure of such, for the lives of Gloucester and Clarence respectively.

The Countess of Warwick was despoiled not only of her dower in her husband's estates, but also of her splendid ancestral inheritance, for the benefit of her sons-in-law. It was by Act of Parliament settled upon them and their wives "in like manner and form as if the said Countess were actually dead." In fact, by the spoliation of the Duke of Bedford and the Countess of Warwick, Clarence got at once estates larger than he would have got in possession by the grant of the whole of the Salisbury estates burdened with the Countess of Warwick's dower.

The Countess, from her sanctuary at Beaulieu, where she had taken refuge after the battle of Tewkesbury, pleaded her innocence of any crime which could justify the spoliation. It was doubtless harsh enough, yet the lady who had

accompanied Margaret of Anjou and Edward of Wales and her own daughter Ann, the wife or the betrothed of Edward, on a war against Edward the Fourth, had certainly become exposed to the pain of forfeiture for adhering to the King's enemies, and if not also to that of death only because no Plantagenet King ever dealt out such a doom to a woman for high treason.

The Salisbury estates were probably partitioned between the King's brothers and their wives. At least we find Richard exchanging some of them with the King.[a]

Thus the vast possessions of the king-maker became appanages of King Edward's brothers.

A lively picture of the controversy and partition between them will be found in Mr. Gairdner's *Life and Reign of Richard the Third.*

Isabel Duchess of Clarence died in 1477, and with her Clarence's good angel left him. Indeed his mind seems to have been unhinged by his grief at her death, which was attributed, though probably without reason, to poison.

The next point in our narrative is the attainder and execution of Clarence in the same year.

The grounds of them appear in the Act of Attainder. There breathes throughout it the wounded personal feeling of the King, who doubtless had deep cause to resent his brother's ingratitude, and is said to have been himself his brother's sole accuser, except, as the Croyland chronicler insinuates, the *witnesses* against Clarence. The Act, no doubt, embodies the King's speech in Parliament against Clarence, and is a most powerful, and even eloquent indictment. It dwells not unjustly on the benefits the King had heaped on his brother, and on his brother's ungrateful return in revolting against him, and, after the pardon of this revolt, renewing his machinations against the King, and aspersing him with illegitimacy. But doubtless the sting of the indictment embodied in the Act was Clarence's secret retention of an exemplification of the Act of Henry the Sixth's last Assembly, by which the Crown of England had been entailed on Clarence on the death of Henry the Sixth and failure of male issue of Henry, events which had now occurred. It is tolerably clear that Clarence would not have hoarded such a document with other than a treasonable intent.

In the same Parliament in which Clarence was attainted all the Acts of Henry the Sixth's last Assembly, and all exemplications of them, were reversed and cancelled.[b]

[a] Act of Exchange, *Rot. Parl.* vi. 125 b.

[b] *Rot. Parl.* vi. 191 a.

Clarence was despatched by virtue of the Act of Attainder,[a] with at least technical legality, whether by the traditionary whimsical death of drowning in a butt of malmsey, or otherwise, we know not.

The instrument which in the Parliamentary Roll follows that attainting him has not, perhaps, been sufficiently noticed in connexion with the subject. By it Henry Duke of Buckingham was created, *after Clarence's attainder, and for this turn only*, seneschall of England, for the execution of justice on George late Duke of Clarence. "Seneschall" here doubtless means not a steward to preside over a trial (Clarence had been, as appears on the face of the instrument, already attainted) but an officer for executing judgment (the secondary meaning of the word given by Lord Coke).

In England's troublous days there were degrees in the publicity of executions, calculated according to the sympathy likely to be accorded to the sufferer.

Guildford Dudley perished on Tower Hill; his wife Lady Jane an hour afterwards on Tower Green.

Clarence's execution was yet more secret than Lady Jane's, and an execution which is not ventured to be committed in public stands self-condemned. But for it, perhaps, Edward's ill-fated sons had never perished in the Tower. Clarence and Gloucester would probably have balanced each other, and thus have secured the throne to Edward the Fifth, whilst they together would have been too powerful to be exposed to the danger of the destruction which Gloucester, left alone, had so much reason to apprehend for himself from the Woodville faction.

The present narrative, however, is more immediately concerned with the effects of Clarence's attainder on his titles and estates.

The forfeiture clauses of the Act attainting Clarence mentioned only the honour, estate, dignity, and name of Duke, and the estates conferred upon Clarence by the King. It appears, however, to have extended to the Earldoms of Warwick and Salisbury, which had been granted to George Plantagenet himself in tail male.

It will be recollected that at this time the old Earldom of Warwick was possibly, and that created by the letters patent of 1450 was certainly, vested in the Countess Ann, grandmother of George's young son Edward, and that the old Earldom of Salisbury, if partible between coheirs, was in abeyance between Edward and his aunt Ann of Gloucester.

[a] *Rot. Parl.* vi. 193-5.

Inquisitions were, of course, taken after the death of the Duke of Clarence. One, touching the lands of which he died seised in his own right, finds that he was attainted on the 16th of January and died on the 18th of February, in the seventeenth year of the King's reign. Another, touching the lands of his wife Isabel, of which he died seised as tenant by the curtesy, finds that "*Edward Plantagenet*" is son and heir of the same Isabel.

In the same year (the eighteenth of Edward the Fourth) in which the inquisitions were taken a grant is made, during the minority of Edward, son of George late Duke of Clarence, of part of his maternal possessions. Towards the close of Edward's reign, in the twenty-first year of it, the King commits to his stepson, Thomas Marquis of Dorset, the marriage and wardship of Edward, son and heir of Isabel, who was wife of George Duke of Clarence. I think it therefore tolerably clear that during Edward the Fourth's reign the boy remained plain Edward Plantagenet, without title or rank. Of course, however, any title or estate coming from his mother's side would not be forfeited by his father's attainder.

On the 9th of April, 1483, Edward the Fourth died. In that same year his only sons, Edward the Fifth and Richard Duke of York, children, of whom the elder was only thirteen years old, were, as I believe, murdered in the Tower by the command of their uncle and protector, Richard of Gloucester, the brother in whose fidelity Edward had reposed implicit confidence. On their deaths Clarence's young son became heir male of Edmund of Langley, and, as I think and hope hereafter to show, Duke of York and heir of the estates entailed on Edmund and his male issue.

When the Duke of Gloucester had caused Edward the Fourth's children to be branded with illegitimacy, the son of Clarence must have been recognised as the unquestionable heir to the throne on Yorkist principles, had not Richard objected that Clarence's attainder had debarred his children from the succession. Notwithstanding this Richard, by a grant made in 1483 on the 14th of August, the month succeeding that of his coronation (which took place on the 6th of July, 1483), styles the young Edward "our nephew *Warwick*." As the boy was a coheir of the king-maker, and Richard's popularity, in the north of England at least, arose chiefly from his connection with the king-maker's family, it was politic in him to show favour to his and his wife's young nephew. In fact the King took the boy with him on his visit to York in September 1483, and knighted him, together with the King's own son.[a] It was, doubtless, important to show at

[a] *Rous Roll*, par. 60.

York that, whatever might have been the fate of Edward the Fourth's sons, the heir of Isabel Neville was alive and favoured. In 1484 the King in other grants, two made on the 4th and 5th of March shortly before the death of Richard's only son, Edward Prince of Wales, and one made on the 21st of December after the Prince's death, styles the boy "our kinsman Edward *Earl of Warwick*," "our nephew Edward *Earl of Warwick*," and "Edward *Earl of Warwick*." In fact the King, after his son's death, recognised for a time the young Earl, nephew and heir presumptive of his wife Isabel Neville as well as of himself, as his presumptive successor to the Crown. The friends of the king-maker's house would be gratified at such a recognition of the now sole heir of the house. After Queen Ann's death (on the 16th of March, 1485) Richard indeed substituted his nephew the Earl of Lincoln, son of his sister Elizabeth Duchess of Suffolk, as his presumptive successor; but Richmond's invasion was then impending, and at a time so critical the King may have thought it an absolute necessity, outweighing the advantage of gratifying the Neville party, to appoint as presumptive heir one whose age would assure Richard's partisans that if Richard himself should fall in the impending strife he would leave an heir who could place himself at their head. The King, however, showed how much political importance he attached to the person of the young Earl by placing him in ward at Sheriff Hutton together with Elizabeth of York. I do not find on what ground Clarence's son was recognised as Earl of Warwick, but that the ground was valid seems to follow from the fact that Henry the Seventh, whose interest was to depress in every way the young Earl, who was so formidable a rival to him, recognised the youth as such; for the Act passed in the first year of Henry's reign for restoring the Marquis of Dorset, attainted by Richard the Third and styled in the Act Sir Thomas Gray, to his titles and estates, excepts and revokes "the letters patent of Edward the Fourth, granting to Sir Thomas Gray the wardship of Edward *Earl of Warwick*." Your Director has suggested to me that he may have been invested with the title, and has pointed out to me that such investiture, unaccompanied with a grant of property, might be effected without any record of it being preserved.

On the 22nd of August, 1485, Richard the Third, last of the splendid line of Plantagenet kings, fell in the thick of the strife of the battle of Bosworth, and Henry of Richmond was acclaimed King of England as Henry the Seventh.

The politic new sovereign of England at once secured possession of the Earl of Warwick, who was then at Sheriff Hutton, and had him conveyed to the Tower of London. The unfortunate youth was indeed a most formidable rival to the new King. Not only was he the only remaining male scion, and if Edward's

children were illegitimate, the lineal heir of the Plantagenets, but he was also, according to the Act of the last parliamentary assembly of Henry the Sixth, the rightful heir on Lancastrian principles of the Crown, and Henry the Seventh's judges had soon after Henry's accession solemnly declared that attainder was no bar to the descent of the Crown. This title to the Crown, conferred on the Earl of Warwick by a Parliament of Henry the Sixth, was probably one of the reasons why Henry the Seventh recognised his father-in-law Edward as a lawful King, as one of Edward's parliaments had declared void the Act which entailed the Crown on the Earl of Warwick's father, Clarence, and his male issue.

Although the young Earl was detained a close prisoner of state in the Tower, he appears to have been at first treated as owner of the estates of York, of Warwick, and of Salisbury. The whole of the Warwick and Salisbury estates, and probably the Earldom of Salisbury, had now vested in him by the deaths of Richard the Third, and Richard's wife Ann, and his son Edward.

But the astute founder of the Tudor line deprived his Plantagenet rival of the Warwick and York estates by piece-meal.

In the third year of Henry's reign[a] the aged Countess of Warwick, grandmother of Earl Edward, petitioned, probably was made to petition, against the Act passed in Edward the Fourth's reign by which she was stripped of her inheritance for the benefit of her sons-in-law. She grounded her petition on the true and faithful service and allegiance that she had and owed to Henry the Sixth, and on her never having offended or given any cause or any offence by her to be done, proved, or shown in the depriving Act, pleas which Edward the Fourth's lawyers might not unfairly have deemed inconsistent with each other.

The estates were restored to her, and the procedure is in her petition stigmatised as unnatural. But it was, perhaps, not more unnatural than the almost immediately subsequent procedure by which the unhappy Countess conveyed the vast estates just restored to her, except a miserable pittance, to Henry the Seventh and his heirs male, with a remainder to her and her heirs. She is supposed to have ended her troublous life about 1490.

The next step was the resumption by the Crown (in the eleventh year of Henry the Seventh, 1495)[b] of the estates granted by Edward the Third and Richard the Second to Edmund of Langley in tail male.

At this time Edward Earl of Warwick was Edmund's only descendant in the male line. The Act, therefore, seems to me a clear confession that these estates belonged to Edward as Edmund's heir male. For if they had *permanently*

[a] *Rot. Parl.* vi. 391 b.

[b] Stat. 11 Henry VII. c. 29.

merged in the Crown on Edward the Fourth's accession to the throne, or become forfeited in consequence of Clarence's attainder, no Act of resumption would have been needed.

I apprehend that on Edward the Fourth's accession to the throne the estate tail merged for a time in the Crown, but that on failure of Edward's male issue it emerged and devolved upon the Earl of Warwick.

And I venture to think that the Earl was also entitled to the Dukedom of York, although that is ordinarily treated as having merged once for all in the Crown when Edward the Fourth became King. If the entailed estates did not permanently merge in the Crown it is not easy to see why the entailed dignity should do so, unless, indeed, the Act declaring Clarence to have forfeited the dignity of a Duke be held to have extended to his reversionary title to the dukedom of York. But for this Act the case would be on all fours with that of the succession of Richard, son of the attainted Earl of Cambridge, to this same Dukedom of York.[a] However, it is certain that the title of Duke of York was never borne by the young Earl, nor was he long to bear any title.

There were left to him now only the title of Earl of Warwick, the Salisbury Estates—and his life; of all these he was soon to be deprived. In 1499, whilst a prisoner in the Tower with Perkin Warbeck, he committed, perhaps was inveigled into committing, what was held to be, probably was, *technically* an act of high treason, and on the 28th of November in that year the last legitimate male Plantagenet perished on the scaffold.

In the Parliament of 1503-1504 an Act[b] of attainder and forfeiture was passed against him, under which the Salisbury estates and the reversion (expectant on the death of Henry the Seventh and failure of his issue male) in the Warwick estates were confiscated. Not, however, finally, for with the accession of Henry the Eighth, then recognised as undoubted heir of York as well as of Lancaster, a new and more gracious era began. In 1514, in the fifth year of his reign, Edward's sister Margaret, then the widow of Sir Richard Pole, presented her petition to the king.[c] It breathes the "manlike" spirit attributed to her by Lord Southampton twenty-four years later, when he arrested her at the command of that same Henry, who was to her at the time of her petition a kinsman both affectionate and revering (she was twenty years his senior), but who, at least after her arrest some twenty-four years later, became her implacable enemy.

[a] Or with that of the succession of John, son of the attainted Lord George Murray, to the Dukedom of Athol.

[b] 19 Henry VII. c. 34.

[c] *Rot. Parl.* 1513–1553, suppl. vol. xlix. b.

Speaking of her unhappy brother, she says boldly, "which Edward, most Gracious Sovereign Lord, was always from his childhood, being of the age of eight years until the time of his decease, remaining and kept in ward and restrained from his liberty, as well in the Tower of London as in other places, having none experience nor knowledge of the worldly policies nor of the laws of this realm, so that if any offence were by him done concerning such matters specified in the said Act of Attainder" (a bold doubt in those days!) "it was rather by innocency than of any malicious purpose." This pathetic appeal did not fall unheeded on the ear of the young monarch. By an Act of Parliament grounded upon the petition the attainder of the Earl, called Earl of Salisbury as well as of Warwick, was reversed (this was a strong measure, impugning as it did the proceedings in Henry the Seventh's reign), and Margaret and her heirs were restored to the Earldom of Salisbury and to the estates of which Earl Edward was seised at the time of the treason specified in the Act. It was, however, expressly provided that the Act should not invalidate the fine levied by the old Countess of Warwick, Edward's and Margaret's grandmother, to the use of Henry the Seventh and his heirs male, or extend to any hereditaments that were of the inheritance of the Countess and Lady *Spencer*, wife unto Richard late Earl of Salisbury (the title of Spencer seems to be a mistake, the Countess Ann of Warwick, the King-maker's wife, was only one of the coheirs of Lord Spencer), in possession, *reversion*, or use (it will be remembered that Edward Earl of Warwick was, at the time of his death, entitled to the *reversion* of the bulk of the Beauchamp and of part of the Despencer estates in case of failure of male issue of Henry the Seventh, and that this reversion had been forfeited by his attainder). As to the York estates, the estate in tail male in them granted to Edmund of Langley would now have been determined by the extinction of Edmund's male issue, even if the resuming Act of Parliament had never passed.

The eventful years of Henry's reign rolled on, and 1538 saw a state of things far different from that of 1514. In 1538 the arrest already alluded to of the Countess of Salisbury took place. She was at first detained in honourable confinement at Cowdray, (then a seat of Lord Southampton's, now a possession of the Countess's descendant, the Earl of Egmont,) but was afterwards committed to the Tower. In the next year (the thirty-first of Henry's reign) an Act for her attainder was passed.[a]

The Act is private and has never been printed (I venture to think that it and many other private Acts of this period deserve to be), but the enrolment of it in

[a] 31 Henry VIII. c. 15.

Chancery is preserved in the Record Office. It is what would be called in modern parlance an *omnibus* Act. Parliament had not sat since the twenty-eighth year of the King's reign, and the opportunity was taken of attainting all those who since the last sitting of Parliament had become, or were thought to have become, deserving of the penalty. They are divided into different categories. First came those who had been already convicted and executed. "Where Henry Courtney, late Lord Marquis of Exeter; Henry Pole, *Knight*, late Lord Montacute" (and others named, lords, knights, abbots, and priors, including Nicholas Carewe, *Knight*); it is interesting and suggestive to note here and elsewhere that knighthood does not appear to have been forfeited by attainder), "and divers abominable traitors and rebels hath them confederate, &c., and be by the true course and order of the common law of this your realm of England severally indicted, convicted, and attainted of high treason, and have suffered execution for the same according to their demerits, as by the several records thereof more plainly appeareth."

The next category is of those who had been indicted only. "And where also Reginald Pole, Dean of the Cathedral Church of Exeter" (and others named, including Friar Peto), "by the instigation of the Devil, putting aside the dread of Almighty God, the excellent benefits perceived of your Highness, and their most bounden duty, confederated themselves together, and have not only most traitorously obeyed and submitted themselves unto the Bishop of Rome, being a common enemy unto your Majesty and this your realm, but also have taken and received worldly promotion of the gifts of the same Bishop of Rome" (a hit this at Reginald Pole's Cardinalate), "and have prayed and stirred sedition in this your realm of England, &c., for which, their said treasons being plainly and manifestly proved, they and each of them were and be severally indicted of high treason by the due course and order of the common law of this your realm according to their demerits, as by the records thereof more at large may appear" (Reginald Pole, as we all know, was abroad out of the King's power, as were probably some, if not all, of the others who had been only indicted). "It may therefore please your Highness that the said Henry Courtney, late Marquis of Exeter, Henry Pole, late Lord Montacute, et cæteri, shall stand and be attainted and convicted of high treason, and shall lose and forfeit unto your Highness, and to your heirs and successors, all such their manors, &c., which they or any of them, or any other person or persons in their right, or to their uses, or to the use of any of them, had, or ought to have had, of any estate of inheritance in fee simple or fee tail, at the dates of their several treasons

committed, limited and appointed in their several indictments" (it was necessary to give such a date in the cases of those who had not been convicted), "or at any time thereafter, &c."

The last category is of those who had not been even indicted.

"And where also Gertrude Courtney, late wife unto the said late Lord Marquis of Exeter, hath most falsely, traitorously, and maliciously confederated herself to and with the said abominable traitor Nicholas Carewe, knowing him to be a traitor," &c. (It is observable that the Marchioness is not accused of confederating with her husband; the Act respected the sanctity of the marriage tie, but, as we shall presently see, of that tie only.)

"And where also Margaret Pole, Countess of Sarum, and Hugh Vaughan, late of Ockeney, in the county of Monmouth, yeoman, by instigation, &c. have not only most traitorously confederated themselves to and with the said false and abominable traitors, Henry Pole, late Lord Montacute, and Reginald Pole, *sons unto the said Countess*" (the maternal tie was not held sacred), "knowing them to be false traitors and common enemies to your Majesty and this your realm, refusing their duty of allegiance which they ought to do and bear unto your highness, and maliciously and traitorously aided, maintained, abetted, and comforted them in their said false and horrible treasons, but also have committed and perpetrated divers and sundry other detestable and abominable treasons, to the most fearful peril and danger of the destruction of your most royal person, and to the utter loss, disherison, and desolation of this your realm of England, if God, in his merciful goodness, had not in due time brought the said abominable treasons to knowledge. And where also John Mac-yvaroill, et cæteri" (I set out this part of the Act as bearing on the treasons imputed to Reginald Pole, and to which the Countess of Salisbury was accused of being accessory), "have not only most traitously adhered and submitted themselves unto the Bishop of Rome, but also have received divers and sundry letters from divers and sundry traitors within your dominion of Ireland to convey and deliver, as well into the hands of the said Bishop of Rome as into the hands of the said most arrogant and abominable traitor Reginal Pole, for to resist your most godly purposes and proceedings and to invade this your realm of England, It may therefore please your highness that it may be enacted by the authority of this present Parliament that the said Gertrude Courtney, Margaret Pole Countess of Sarum, et cæteri, shall stand and be attainted and convict of high treason, *and shall suffer such execution and pains of death as in case of high treason*" (this latter penalty had not been expressly enacted against the absentees), "and shall also lose and

forfeit all such their manors, &c. which they or any of them "—and so on—" had or ought to have had of any estate of inheritance in fee simple or fee tail, the 20th day of December, in the 30th year of your gracious reign or at any time sithen." The day from which forfeiture of the Countess' estate was to date was the 20th of December, 1538, eleven days after the execution of Exeter and Montague. The Countess, as we all know, was eventually (in 1541) executed under the Act of Attainder.

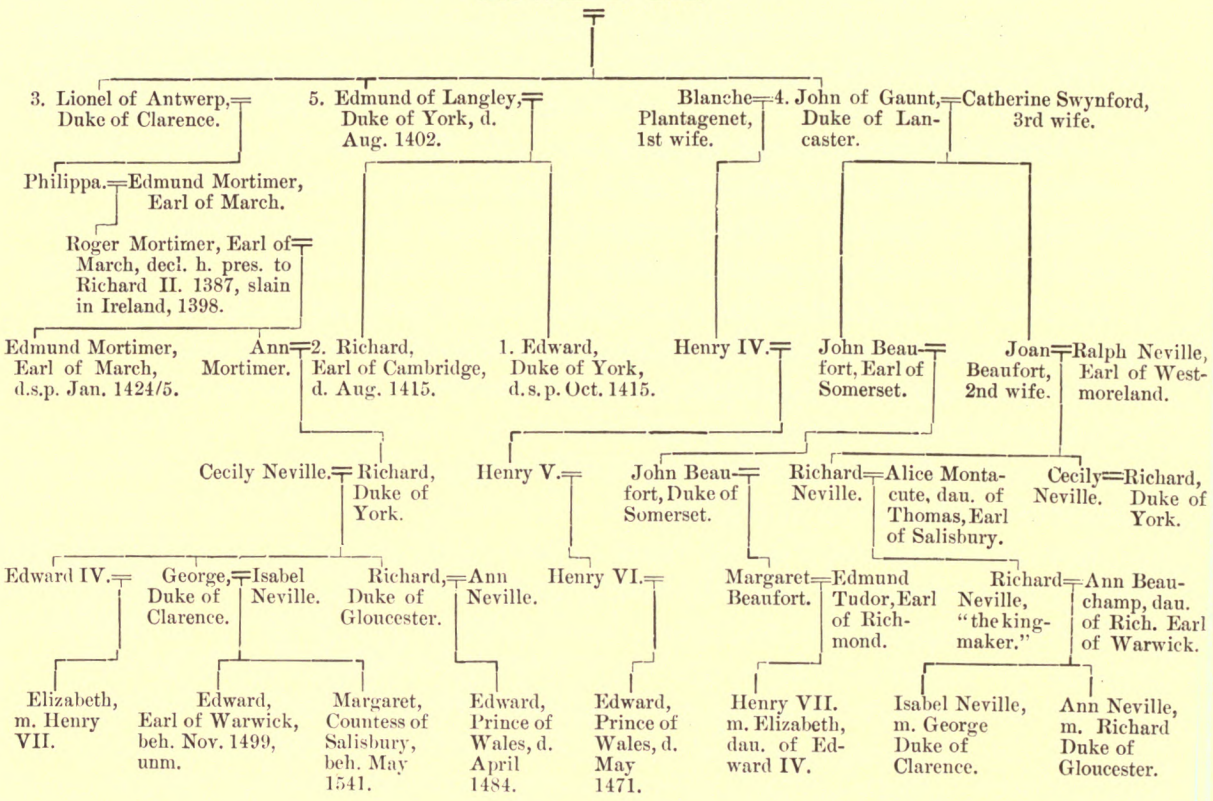
This forfeiture was the final one. In the first year of Queen Mary's reign the two daughters and only children of Lord Montague, or Montacute—he seems to have had both titles, the first by summons to Parliament, the second by courtesy—Katharine Countess of Huntingdon, and Winifred wife of Sir Thomas Hastings, obtained a private Act for their restitution in blood, notwithstanding their father's attainder. Curiously enough, the Act only mentions his attainder at common law, and says nothing about the Act of Attainder. On the strength of this Act of Restoration the late Countess of Loudoun, senior coheiress of Henry Lord Montague, recently claimed to be declared a coheiress of the Baronies of Monthermer, of Montague, and Montacute. But the restoration had been surrounded by so many qualifications, that the House of Lords resolved that the attainder of the Countess of Salisbury still barred the descent of the Baronies.[a]

Thus have we traced the fortunes of the illustrious dignities and vast possessions which vested, or normally would have vested, in the unfortunate Edward Earl of Warwick, until we find them all merged in the Crown.

[a] Law Rep. 7 E. & I. H. L. Ap. Ca. p. 305.

(See Genealogical Table on next page.)

# GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



# XXIII.—*Excavations at Cæsar's Camp near Folkestone, conducted in June and July*, 1878, *by Major-General* Augustus H. L. F. Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S. F.S.A.

Read December 9, 1880.

The earthwork known as Cæsar's Camp or Castle Hill is one mile and three-quarters (3 kil.) to the north-west of Folkestone Harbour. It is a conspicuous object from the railway to all who look for it, being situated on the summit of the line of hills termed by geologists the Chalk Escarpment, and overlooking from a commanding position the whole of the low ground between it and the sea. A good view of it taken from the east may be seen in the frontispiece to Mr. W. Topley's *Geology of the Weald*. Geologically the ground on which the Camp has been constructed corresponds to that of Mount Caburn on the opposite side of the weald valley; both overlook the weald valley, but from opposite directions, both occupy the chalk ridges which bound the valley on three sides, and both are situated not far from the coast line on which that extensive geological area opens into the English Channel.

Mount Caburn Camp has already been described by me in a former paper published in the *Archaeologia*.[a] The occupation of both it and Cissbury Camp near Worthing has been there fixed in the late Celtic period or the period in all probability immediately preceding the Roman Conquest, but in the case of both these camps it was shewn that the ramparts were probably erected at a much earlier date.

These two camps having been determined on sufficient evidence to be British, it may be of interest to compare them in their general outline with the earthwork now to be described; we shall then see to what extent we are justified, if at all, in forming an opinion upon the date of an entrenchment by its external appearance. It is a common practice to connect together in point of time objects which bear a general resemblance to one another, and this is justified by the continuity and conservatism observable in pre-historic and non-historic remains generally; but it is the part of the anthropologist to distinguish those points of

[a] *Archaeologia*, vol. xlvi.

similitude which being the result of like causes may belong to any period in which like causes may have occurred, from those which, being peculiar, may reasonably be ascribed to the same race and to a connected state of society. In dealing with defensive works we must be careful to separate so far as possible those more obvious expedients of the art of war connected with the surrounding ground which have been common to all people arrayed against each other in arms, from those which constitute particular systems employed by different people. No one could fail to distinguish the first from the second or third systems of Vauban, or to fix with certainty the date of each, although they greatly resemble each other as bastion systems of defence, and in course of time by diligent search we may be able to distinguish the peculiarities of defence belonging to different pre-historic tribes and races. Time has weathered all these earthworks into rounded heaps and depressions, obliterating minor details on which we might rely for discriminating between the different systems employed, and which can only be brought to light by cutting sections through them. Such sections in certain soils, such as chalk, may expose to view the original shapes of the ditches, but no sufficient number of sections have yet been made to enable us to classify them. Peculiarities of trace in the plans of works may be noticed, but such features have not yet been connected with their associated relics with sufficient certainty to allow of their being separated, and the generalizations which have been attempted have been based on insufficient evidence.

Cæsar's Camp, to use the common but inappropriate name by which it is generally known, resembles both Caburn and Cissbury, in being situated on a hill-top; but this is an expedient too generally adopted in defensive works to constitute a special peculiarity. Like those works, the ramparts follow the general outline of the hill, and see into the surrounding hollows; but this also is a principle of defence too universal in its application to enable us to distinguish it from the others, if we except only the camps of the Romans, who, whether from contempt for their enemies, or the requirements of interior organisation, habitually neglected this principle of defence in England; and this constitutes a *primâ facie* probability against the Camp under consideration being Roman. The name of Cæsar we know to have been attached in comparatively modern times to military defences of unknown date, solely from the fact of his being the greatest warrior of ancient times.

Cæsar's Camp also resembles the other earthworks mentioned, in being remote from water; but this circumstance is of no value until we have ascertained by means of excavations whether water was obtained by artificial means.

Here also, as at Caburn, Cissbury, and other camps, the interior is occupied by pits, but we have already seen by previous excavations how various were the uses to which pits were put. Whilst at Cissbury they marked the entrance to flint mines of a much earlier period than the camp, at Caburn they were found to be the sites of cellars in connection with habitations of a later date than the first construction of the camp, and in other places they are the work of the Agrimensores of Roman times. We derive, therefore, no evidence from the presence of pits until their contents have been examined.

Unlike Cissbury, Caburn, and many other earthworks of British origin in this region, Cæsar's Camp, Plate XVI., is provided with an inner and smaller Citadel, or keep, in the highest corner of the interior space. This Citadel has a circumference of about 570 feet (173 m.) measured along the crest of the Rampart, and from the ditch of this work an Outer Rampart, (D, E, F, Plate XVI.) is drawn, having a circuit of about 1,100 feet (335 m.), and enclosing an outer space on the north and east sides. The Citadel is therefore in the south-west corner of the Camp, immediately above the southern slope of the chalk hill, geologically termed the Chalk Escarpment, though we must be careful to distinguish between this natural Escarpment and the artificial escarpment to be hereafter mentioned. The Camp is on a spur of the chalk hills, and from the rampart of the Citadel the ground falls in all directions, but more gently towards the north than on the other sides. It is on the apex of a "cape," or "headland," and is guarded by a "bay," or "coombe." Whether it was that the sides of this bay were not originally sufficiently steep to form a natural defence, or that an attack on this quarter might be more probably expected, the sides of the bay on the west side of the Camp, immediately outside the ditch of the Citadel, have been artificially escarped for a depth of about 90 feet (27 m.) (G, H, Plate XVI.), so as to give the slope an angle of $41\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ with the horizon. On the south side of the Camp the natural Escarpment is at an angle of 30° and the height 250 feet (76 m.), whilst on the north side the slope is not more than 15°, and the total height from the summit to the bottom of the valley on that side about 80 feet (24 m.). This being the weakest side is therefore defended by two ramparts, viz.: that of the outer camp (the Outer Rampart) and that of the Citadel (the Inner or Upper Rampart), whilst the stronger sides are defended by the rampart of the Citadel only.

The artificial escarpment (G. H.) on the west side is so entirely coated with grass as to be undistinguishable except by its formation from the natural Escarpment, and, though satisfied myself of its artificial character, I was anxious to obtain the opinion of an experienced geologist. I was fortunate enough to persuade Professor

Hughes of Cambridge to visit the Camp, and he remained with me a couple of days. Well knowing the very artificial appearance which the Weald Escarpment sometimes assumes in the natural process of denudation, he was fully prepared to find that the part in question was merely a portion of the natural slope which from some cause had been denuded at an unusually abrupt angle, and even when observing the position from the Railway at a distance of a mile (1609 m.) he retained the same opinion. On his arrival at the spot, however, a single glance was sufficient to alter his view, and cause him to pronounce unhesitatingly that the slope was artificial. The fact that the Outer Rampart abuts upon this artificial escarpment at right angles (see Plate XVI., T, F,) is sufficient to prove that it formed part of the original defence of the Camp, affording all the protection that was considered necessary for the outer division of the Camp on that side.

The presence of a keep or citadel, in our present condition of knowledge of the subject, does not afford sufficient grounds for determining the date of an entrenchment, although taken in conjunction with the evidence to be hereafter adduced it may be employed to give force to an argument. I am aware that an attempt has been made to classify camps into those which have and those which have not this addition to their defences; but I hardly think the information we at present possess is sufficient to warrant such a classification. The keep certainly is not usual if indeed it is ever found in camps of the British period in this region, but on the other hand we have the examples of Herefordshire Beacon and other fortresses believed by some to be British which are provided with an interior stronghold of this kind, and it is a very obvious expedient to have an inner post to retire to when the outer rampart is taken.

There is, however, another part of the defences of Cæsar's Camp which appears to me to deserve more particular attention, and that is a Traverse (I, K, Plate XVI.) about 100 feet (30 m.) in length, dividing the outer camp into two parts, running from the Inner to the Outer Rampart on the north side at right angles, or nearly so, to both. The ditch of this Traverse is on the west side, showing that the intention was to cut off the eastern from the western divisions after the latter had been taken. Such a traverse might either have been constructed to cut off a breach during an attack on the west side, or if an attack on that side was anticipated it might have formed part of the original defence. The fact that the ditch of this Traverse does not run into that of the Citadel, but leaves a causeway about 15 feet (4·570 m.) in width, (L, Plate XVI.), to facilitate communication between the two outer compartments of the Camp, favours the opinion that it formed part of the original defences, and we shall have to consider the significance of

this construction hereafter. Several causeways with corresponding gaps in the ramparts occur in both Inner and Outer Ramparts, but, as these will be shewn hereafter to be of subsequent construction, made probably to facilitate the ingress of cattle to the pasture lands within the intrenchments, they have been omitted from the Plan except one across each ditch, which appeared to be ancient.

It only further remains to notice two Pits or basin-shaped depressions, a greater and a lesser, both at the foot of the interior slope of the Citadel on the north side. The eastern or smaller Pit (M, Plate XVI.) had a diameter at top of about 12 feet (3·657 m.) and a depth of 3 feet (0·915 m.), the western and larger (N, Plate XVI.), the margin of which was 20 feet (6·096 m.) from the other had a depth of 4 feet (1·219 m.) and a diameter of 32 feet (9·753 m.) In the outer camp there was one large Pit (P, Plate XVI.) with a diameter of 20 feet (6·098 m.) at top, in the middle of the eastern division, the earth from the basin of which had been thrown up in a half-moon shape on the northern or lower margin. There were besides two or three small depressions in this division of the Camp near the southern rampart (R, Plate XVI.) and three in line at right angles and close to the eastern rampart (S, Plate XVI.) The interior of the Citadel shewed marks of having been cut about in the formation perhaps of buildings or huts. The Rampart of the Citadel had a bold relief and was intact on all sides except the south, where, if it ever existed, it had been destroyed. The Outer Rampart was also intact everywhere except where it had been cut through for cattle as above-mentioned, and at the western end (F, Plate XVI.) where it abuts upon the artificial escarpment, here for some reason it had been destroyed, and the ditch filled in for the space of some feet.

Springs of good water are found in the bottoms of the coombes to the east and west of the Camp, but not in positions to be accessible from the Camp if it were fully invested. In the flat bottom of the valley or rather depression in the hill to the north immediately outside the ditch of the Outer Rampart there is a level space (G, U, Plate XVI.) embracing an area of about 700 feet (213 m.) by 450 feet (137 m.), which it was noticed would have formed excellent ground for the exercise or encampment of a body of troops. This space was bounded by a small bank (T, U, Plate XVI.) which had the appearance of being ancient, running along the counterscarp of the ditch on one side and parallel to the edge of the ravine on the east, but about 50 feet (15 m.) from it, so as to leave a roadway along the edge for communication with the entrance to the Camp on that side.

From this bank another bank or rampart with a ditch on the south side runs along the edge of the natural Chalk Escarpment in a good defensive position

commanding the slopes and following the sinuosities of the ground, rounding Sugar-loaf Hill and extending perhaps originally as far as the chalk cliffs on the sea coast, a distance of about two miles (3½ kil.) Whether this rampart was connected with the Camp or not it is now impossible to say, but its position, fortified as it appears to have been, and having the cliffs on the coast on one flank and the Camp strengthened with the addition of an artificial escarpment on the other flank, combined with the strategical importance of the situation, suggests to the eye of a military observer the idea of an extensive position of great strength, capable, it is true, of being turned on the right flank, but especially strengthened on this flank by artificial defences of which the Camp now under consideration forms the key.

The plan pursued in order to ascertain the date of this Camp was that adopted with success in the case of other camps, viz.: to cut several sections through the ditches and ramparts, and observe what relics might be found on the line of the old surface, beneath the rampart, and in the bottoms of the ditches, to excavate the pits as far as the undisturbed sides and bottoms, taking out all the accumulations of rubble, to cut trenches in the interior to ascertain whether any foundations of habitations could be discovered, and to compare the shards of pottery in the interior with those found beneath the rampart, observing whether they correspond in quality and ornamentation or in the presence or absence of glaze.

It should be mentioned that Gough, in his additions to Camden's *Britannia*, speaks of Roman bricks having been found on Castle Hill.[a]

It is not quite evident whether this is the Castle Hill under consideration, or the one which formerly existed in the town of Folkestone. His description of the entrenchments is certainly incomplete, "double-ditched on the east and triple on the north and west." But even if we were to count the ditch of the Traverse (I, K, Plate XVI.) on the north we could hardly speak of the Camp as triple-ditched on that side, because the Traverse forms only a lateral defence, and on the west side it cannot be made out that there was more than one ditch. Whether or not the remains of walls existed at that time, it is certain that none can be seen at present, and I am upon the whole disinclined to place much reliance on the description of Gough in this case, because his remarks were evidently not the result of personal observation, and we shall see in the sequel that it is highly improbable that anything Roman could have been found there.

At the meeting of the Kent Archæological Society in 1874, Mr. Jeaffreson read a paper on the Castle Hill to the members of the Society assembled on the

[a] Camden's *Britannia*, Gough's edition, vol. i. p. 363.

spot. In it he gives a very fair *résumé* of the evidence available at that time, which, however, it must be admitted was not of a character to produce satisfactory results. He rejects the view of the entrenchment being Roman, both on account of its outline and the absence of any mention of it in the *Notitia*, *Itinerary*, or elsewhere; nor does he in any way favour the opinion that a Roman *pharos* existed here, as supposed by Mr. Wright,[a] and mentioned in Murray's *Hand-book;* and he discredits the statement that Roman bricks have been discovered, quoting Ireland, who expressly states that not a vestige of them could be found; nor is there any local tradition concerning them, for, had such existed, Mr. Jeaffreson, being an inhabitant of Folkestone, would be in a position to know of it. In referring to the observations of the older writers, that the Camp has a triple entrenchment on the north side, he observes that the traces of a third line are somewhat feeble. It is true that as seen in the section (Plate XVII. fig. 1) there is a small bank on the outside of the upper ditch, and if Gough had spoken of it as triple-banked instead of triple-ditched his remark would have been less open to criticism. Mr. Jeaffreson also comments on the occurrence of an inner entrenchment, and says, probably with truth, that this principle of defence was not unknown to the Celts, but he appears to me scarcely sufficiently to distinguish between concentric lines of defence parallel to each other and keeps or citadels in one corner or in the centre of the interior space. In this respect his comparison between this Camp and the camp at Limes, near Dieppe, appears to me open to question, as the latter cannot be said to have any interior citadel, nor is it by any means certain that the citadel on the Herefordshire Beacon, which the author quotes as a British entrenchment, is in reality British.[b] I have dwelt at length on Mr. Jeaffreson's paper, because it embraces all that could be said on the subject up to the time of its delivery. He concludes his paper with the very just remark that "to set the whole question at rest an exploration of the ground is requisite."[c]

My attention was first drawn to this Camp by Mr. Hilton Price, who had been engaged for some time in examining the Gault formation in this district. He remained with me during the first part of the excavations, thereby enabling me to profit by his geological experience, which was of much value, more particularly in estimating the probabilities of a water-supply having been obtained for the

[a] Murray's *Hand-book for Kent and Sussex*, 1863, page 52.

[b] Excavations recently conducted by Mr. Hilton Price in the citadel of Herefordshire Beacon render it doubtful whether this camp can really be regarded as British. *Journal Anthrop. Inst.* vol. x. page 319.

[c] *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. x. pages xliv-xlviii.

garrison by means of wells; and I shall have occasion to revert to his opinion on this subject in another place.

The services of some Sappers from Shorncliffe were obtained at first, after which civil labour was employed, and from eight to ten men were employed daily. I would also mention that the excavations at this Camp and Mount Caburn were assisted partly by grants from the British Archaeological Association and the Society of Antiquaries. Permission from the lord of the manor having been obtained through the kind assistance of his agent, Mr. Thomas, the excavations were commenced on 3rd June, 1878, and continued, with an interval of about a fortnight, until the 5th July in the same year.

I shall now describe the different parts excavated and the relics discovered, without regard to the order in which they were found, and, in order that every object may be recorded without occupying the reader's attention with things that are of no material consequence to the point at issue, I have pursued the plan, previously adopted by me in the case of other camps, of showing everything in a Relic Table at the end of this paper. I may mention here that, throughout the diggings, the greatest care was taken to avoid deception, the workmen were never allowed to commence until after I arrived, and after the work had commenced I never turned my back on the excavators until the day's work was over. Experience has taught me to make a point of this, without having regard to the character of the men employed. In order that the evidence obtained may be strictly reliable, it should, if possible, be of a character that might be accepted in a court of justice.

Trenches in the interior of the Citadel, section 6 of the Relic Table, and V. Plate XVI.

We cut trenches in several places, as shown in the Plan, selecting the spots in which the ground appeared to have been disturbed, and digging down to a depth of about a foot until the undisturbed chalk was reached. No traces of foundations were discovered, or any fragments of brick. Amongst the most noticeable relics were a silver penny of Stephen (Plate XIX. fig. 31), worn and the image much defaced, but quite identifiable; part of the tubular socket probably of an iron arrow-head, similar to one afterwards found in Pit 2, M; an iron clench-bolt (Plate XVIII. fig. 15) with lozenge-shaped heads, probably used to fasten a handle to a shield; and several lozenge-shaped heads (Plate XVIII. figs. 3 and 4) of the same size and form, but without the bolts. The space between the heads of the bolt was 1·26 inch (0·032 m.) A precisely similar clench-bolt figures in

Roach Smith's *Collectanea*;[a] it is one of about twenty, said to have been found in a grave at Ozingell, in Kent. The Ozingell graves are Anglo-Saxon, but the statement of the discovery of these bolts in one of them is unreliable, and Mr. Roach Smith observes that they are quite different in character from what was found generally in the Ozingell graves; they may therefore be of a later date. A considerable number of precisely similar clench-bolts were found by M. Charma close to a small rectangular camp called Le Châtillon, near Bénouville, in Normandy.[b] In the Le Châtillon camp itself Roman remains were said to have been discovered; the find associated with the iron clench-bolts was, however, not in the camp, but near it, and in the vicinity of mediæval ruins; 315 skeletons were here discovered together, all having been buried with their heads to the west and feet to the east. Close to the left hand of each skeleton, at a uniform distance apart, two of these clench-bolts were found, showing that they probably fastened the handle to a shield buried with the body, on the left side, close to the hand; these bolts resembled closely our specimen, having a lozenge-shaped head on one side and a round head on the other. Associated with these skeletons was an earthen vessel, slightly glazed in the inside and perforated with holes, having also charred embers in the interior. M. de Caumont[c] has shown that similar perforated vessels, employed for incense, were often deposited with the dead in the twelfth century. Everything points to the probability of this find of skeletons being of the Norman period. These peculiar clench-bolts can be traced to a Scandinavian origin; M. Troyon found similar bolts in a tumulus in the isle of Munsœn, in the lake of Mälar; and in a tumulus at Ulltana, near Upsala, similar bolts were found, in connection with a small boat buried with a warrior, which are figured in M. Montelius's *Antiquités Suédois*.[d]

Amongst the relics turned up in the trenches at Cæsar's Camp was also a small copper-gilt object with a quatre-foil termination, and having a round button or stud on the shank (Plate XIX. fig. 27); which, on being submitted to Mr. Franks's inspection, was pronounced by him it to be undoubtedly mediæval on account of its being gilt. Gilt objects are very rare among Roman antiquities, and never found with Celtic. The quatre-foil is also a mediæval form. The gilt

[a] *Collectanea*, vol. iii. p. 17.

[b] *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, vol. xix. p. 485.

[c] *Abécédaire d'Archéologie, Architecture Religieuse*, 5th edition, p. 316.

[d] *Antiquités Suédois*, p. 121, figs. 403-405. Similar clench-bolts have been found in the province of Satacunda, in Finland, amongst antiquities of the late iron age of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of our era, and are figured in M. Aspelin's *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien*, p. 283.

stud is a small sphere of 0·25 inch (0·065 m.) in diameter of precisely the same form and size as others, to be spoken of hereafter, found in the body of the outer rampart. I am unable to ascertain its use; possibly it may have been some portion of horse-furniture. Reference to the Relic Table will show that the pottery found in these trenches was of four kinds, twelve pieces, or about six per cent. of the whole (see column 8) was of a coarse, smooth, black kind, with large fragments of quartz in its composition, about 0·02 inch (0·005 m.) in thickness and hand-made. The rims of this quality were of two kinds, one plain and the other ornamented with a herring-bone pattern (Plate XX. figs. 45, 46, and 51). This class of pottery, had it continued throughout the excavations, would have favoured the view of the first occupation of the Camp having been in British times, but it will be seen that this is not the case. The ornamented pottery of this kind is also of the quality usually fabricated for containing the ashes of the dead in tumuli, and I therefore incline to the opinion that a tumulus must have existed somewhere on the site of the Camp and may have been destroyed in making the Camp. A tumulus exists on the other side of the coombe to the west. About eight per cent. of the fragments of pottery (column 7) were of a brown colour with large grains and hand-made, the rim being ornamented by the impress of the fingers into a sinuous wave-like form (Plate XX. fig. 41). This corresponds to the rim of the pot found with the clench-bolts at Le Câtillon, in Normandy, and figured in Mr. Charma's paper above referred to; it is of frequent occurrence in early Norman pottery. But the great mass of the pottery found in the trenches, amounting to eighty-two per cent., was of the character most constant in Cæsar's Camp (it is shown in the 6th column of the Relic Table), and consisted of fragments of large, globular vessels with a projecting plain rim and without any ornament, of hard, sandy texture, without large grains, lathe-turned, brick-coloured on the outside and gray or light brown on the inside, the sides about 0·2 inch (0·005 m.) in thickness. Two small fragments of glazed pottery were also found, one green, the other red, of the same quality and thickness as the last-named, and it may be as well to notice here that in different parts of the excavations in the camp fragments of pottery of the quality returned as unglazed in the 5th and 6th columns of the Relic Table were occasionally found with glaze on them. Three flint flakes and a number of iron nails, some of which were bent intentionally at right angles, completed the finds in the trenches in the interior of the Citadel, the remains from which, it must be remembered, are not necessarily of the date of the construction of the Camp.

The Pits, sections 1 and 2 of the Relic Table and M and N, Plate XVI.

Attention was now turned to the two basin-shaped depressions close to the foot of the interior slope on the north side, the dimensions of which have already been given. Pit 2, M, Plate XVI., was examined first, by removing the turf and digging out all the rubble with which the Pit was filled. It was found to be a shaft 15 feet 10 inches (4·825 m.) deep beneath the bottom of the basin, the top of the shaft slightly oval, 8 feet (2·438 m.) by 6 feet (1·828 m.), and at the bottom 3 feet 10 inches (1·169 m.) by 3 feet (0·913 m.), the sides cut in the solid chalk. The contents were: A loop of twisted iron (Plate XVIII. fig. 10). (This, Mr. Franks suggests, may possibly be part of the fastening of a chest intended to fit over a staple and be secured by a padlock.) A bone whistle (Plate XX. fig. 35), with two finger-holes, made out of the hollow bone of a bird. A piece of an iron horse-shoe with a sinuous edge and calkings (Plate XVIII. fig. 2), the significance of which will be discussed hereafter. An iron buckle (Plate XVIII. fig. 9) and two fragments of buckles, which from their form may probably be Norman, and used to buckle on the belt of the sword. Similar buckles are commonly seen in the tombs of the Norman knights. A precisely similar buckle was also found recently in my presence in the body of the outer rampart of the castle at Pen Pit, in Somersetshire, believed to be Norman, an account of which is given in the proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological Society. An iron arrow-head with a tubular socket (Plate XVIII. fig. 1). It is leaf-shaped, and of mediæval form, 2·6 inches (0·065 m.) in length, including the socket. Several nails, resembling that figured in Plate XVIII. fig. 19, found in the Pit, had flat heads. A cooking-pot (Plate XX. fig. 43) of the quality shown in the 7th column of the Relic Table was found nearly entire at 13 feet (3·954 m.), it has been restored; and another (Plate XX. fig. 44) which has also been restored, was found at the bottom. The first is 6 inches (0·153 m.) in diameter at the top and 4·6 inches (0·117 m.) at the bottom, with upright sides 3·5 inches (0·089 m.) high, saucepan-shaped; the other is of the same form and nearly the same size, and both have slightly convex bottoms, as shown in the section, Plate XX. fig. 42; they are not unlike the pots found in Mount Caburn, but the rims and the bottoms are sufficient to distinguish them. None of the coarsest kind of pottery was found in this Pit, nor any fragments of glazed pottery.

Pit 1, the Well, section 1 of the Relic Table, N, Plate XVI. and Plate XVII. fig. 1.

This was found to be the mouth of a deep shaft, 9 feet (2·739 m.) in diameter at the top, funnel-shaped, narrowing to 3 feet 10 inches (1·169 m.) at 16 feet (4·872 m.), and from thence continuing nearly cylindrical, as far as our explora-

tions went. It is possible the funnel-shaped part may have been formed during the filling-in by cutting the sides to obtain material for the bottom, or perhaps by weathering during the time that the Pit was open. At 13 feet 9 inches (4·191 m.) a line of holes in the sides of the shaft commenced and continued for the rest of the space excavated, they are cut 6 inches (0·153 m.) into the sides, and were just big enough to contain the forepart of the foot, being shaped like a shoe-stirrup, flat at the bottom and rounded at the top, 8 inches (0·203 m.) wide and 8 inches (0·203 m.) in height. They were cut one above the other on the north and south sides at a distance of about 2 feet (0·610 m.) apart, they were not placed quite vertically above each other but spirally, making two turns in the space excavated. I was let down by a rope and examined the sides carefully, they were smoothly cut in the solid chalk, the shaft was quite circular, but no marks or scratches could be discovered.

Several gentlemen having expressed an opinion that the shaft was not a well but an underground communication with some part of the external defences, I determined to sink it low enough to settle this point at least. It was therefore excavated to a depth of 84 feet (25·603 m.) beneath the bottom of the basin; at this depth it was 23 feet (7·013 m.) lower than the original bottom of the outer ditch on the north side of the Camp before it silted up (see Section, Plate XVII. fig. 1), and, as the ground outside the Camp falls at a very gentle slope, I consider that the absence of any gallery at this depth proves satisfactorily that the shaft could not be intended for communication with any part of the defences, or with the exterior on that side, as it is below the surface of the valley for a considerable distance outside the Camp. The impression therefore grew upon my mind that, notwithstanding its unfavourable position, it must be a well, and the question then arose how deep it was likely to be, and whether it would repay the cost of excavating further. Mr. Hilton Price, who, as I before mentioned, has examined this district geologically, informs me that a water-bearing stratum 3 feet (0·915 m.) in thickness, called the Cast Bed, runs under the Camp at a depth of 160 feet (49 m.) beneath the summit; this is the first position in which water is likely to be found, but in this spot the stratum makes a slight rise towards the south, and being tapped on both sides by the coombes in which springs occur, it is unlikely that water would be reached on this bed, and the Well in all probability continues as far as the Gault below. The well at Terlingham to the north of the Camp, in a more favourable position than this, is as much as 300 feet (91 m.) deep. The excavation of the Well had already cost £18, to continue it as far as 170 feet (52 m.) would cost £41 more, the cost of excavating being in an increasing ratio in proportion to the depth, and, although the bottom if found would no doubt

produce interesting relics, yet viewing the probable depth to which it would have to be extended in order to clear out all the rubble, I came to the conclusion that the money had better be employed otherwise. I therefore determined to abandon the excavation of it; but before doing so, having promised the tenant to fill it up before leaving the place, I communicated with several gentlemen who had given an opinion on the subject to know if they would like to continue the excavations, and, they having declined, I filled it up again, having first deposited a few coins of Queen Victoria, and a bottle containing a statement on paper of the reasons for the Well having been excavated thus far. This determination was also influenced by the consideration that the opinions given on the use of the shaft had all been based on the view of the Camp being Roman, but, as the excavations proceeded, it became more and more evident that nothing Roman was to be found here. The Camp being of more recent date, the probability of the shaft being a well appeared all the more reasonable. Future explorers may renew the search. I offer no recommendation one way or the other, but my impression is that the paper which now lies 84 feet (25·603 m.) beneath the surface will not be read by anyone for some time to come. Nevertheless God speed the ambitious investigator who proves me a false prophet.

The *filling* of this shaft consisted chiefly of chalk with occasional mould. The contents were: A small piece of glazed pottery at 30 feet (9·144 m.); Four pieces of coarse British pottery, of which one fragment is represented in Plate XX. fig. 51 (about eighty-seven per cent. of the fragments were of the ordinary red sandy kind returned in the sixth column of the Relic Table); Lumps of concrete consisting of mortar, and shore pebbles which had evidently formed the sides of the upper part of the Well; A small iron tube (Plate XVIII. fig. 12); A piece of buckle; Iron nails with round flat heads (Plate XVIII. fig. 19); A small iron wedge (Plate XVIII. fig. 20) found in one of the foot holes; A gilt V-shaped object (Plate XIX. fig. 32) similar to one found in the Outer Rampart; and a T-shaped horse-shoe nail similar to figs. 11 and 14, Plate XVIII. These two latter objects connect the *filling* of this shaft with the body of the Outer Rampart in point of date, precisely similar objects having been found there.

Assuming this to be a well, what could have been the use of the smaller shaft beside it?—it could not have been a tank, as there was no puddling, it might have been a well commenced and abandoned, the other spot having been found more convenient, or it might be a refuse pit. The question will naturally arise, am I certain that the bottom of the smaller shaft was really reached? The reply

is "yes, certainly," as I took the precaution of ascertaining that the chalk flaked off in stratified layers.

First section of the Upper Rampart, W, Plate XVI. and fig. 1 Plate XVII. sections 3, 4. and 5 of the Relic Table.

I then cut a section through the Upper Rampart on the north side at a spot between the two Pits, and this was afterwards extended in the same line all down the Camp on the north side and through the Outer Rampart. The soil had silted up at the foot of the interior slope to a height of 3 feet (0·915 m.), two parallel cuttings were made through the rampart each 4 feet (1·219 m.) wide and 7 feet (2·133 m.) apart, laying bare the old surface line, which was clearly marked by a dark seam all along, and afterwards the space between the two cuttings was excavated in several places. Nothing of consequence turned up in this section, except that as much as fifty-one per cent. of the pottery found in the body of the rampart, care being taken to distinguish as usual between this and the *silting* of the interior slope, was of the fine red sandy texture found in the trenches in the interior of the Camp. This connects the date of the construction of the rampart with the period of occupation, the pottery is identical in both places, and it is worthy of notice that no fragment of the coarse British pottery above described was found in the body of the rampart—only one small fragment in the *silting* of the interior slope, which might have got mixed up with pottery of the period of the Camp from a tumulus which I suppose to have existed on the site. Beneath the *silting* of the interior slope was found an oblong pit (section 4 of the Relic Table, and Plate XVII. fig. 1), parallel to the line of the rampart, 6 feet (1·829 m.) long, 3 feet 10 inches (1·169 m.) wide, and 4 feet (1·219 m.) deep. It appears to have been dug before the interior slope silted up, and probably at the foot of the original interior slope. For whatever purpose it was constructed, there is no reason to suppose that it is older than the rampart. It contained, A small disc of lead (Plate XIX. fig. 25), 1 inch (0·026 m.) in diameter and $\frac{1}{6}$ inch (0·002 m.) thick; and, A fragment of a carved dish of chalk, perhaps a mould of some kind (Plate XIX. fig. 24) with a hole at one end bored from both sides and an iron pin together with one flint flake. The pottery was of the kind found before, but no fragment of glazed pottery was found in any part of this pit or section.

The greatest height of the crest of the rampart above the old surface line was 6 feet 8 inches (2·032 m.) the turf mould on the crest was three inches (0·077 m.) thick, increasing to 7 inches (0·177 m.) at the foot of the interior slope. The *silting* at the foot at the interior slope amounted to 3 feet (0·915 m.), an unusual

quantity, and the original foot of the interior slope was 2 feet (0·610 m.) to the front[a] of the present foot. The mark of the turf on the old surface line beneath the rampart was 3 to 4 inches (0·077 to 0·102 m.) in thickness and well defined, sloping downwards towards the north on the old line of the hill. The ditch L, (Plate XVII. fig. 1) after the *silting* had been taken out, was found to have had originally a triangular section 35 feet (10·671 m.) wide at the top measured along the old surface line. The escarp and counterscarp cut smoothly in the solid chalk met at a point at the bottom and there had been no revetment, the escarp 29 feet (8·841 m.) high, measured along the face of it, rose at an angle of 45° with the horizon; the counterscarp, originally 17 feet (5·182 m.) high, on the same measurement, was also at an angle of 45°, but, unlike the escarp, had been reduced in the upper part by denudation, so that the part remaining was only 12 feet (3·659 m.) high; this was naturally the case being more exposed from the first to atmospheric influences. The ditch had silted up 8 feet 8 inches (2·642 m.), the pointed bottom being that depth beneath the present surface, and in accordance with the usual rules observed in silting; which I described more in detail in my paper on Mount Caburn and other papers; the present centre of the ditch after silting up is 3 feet 3 inches (0·992 m.) to the front of the old centre. The section of the *silting* of the ditch shewed, first, turf mould 5 inches (0·127 m.) without stones, thinning to 3 inches (0·077 m.) at the sides, beneath which in the centre of the ditch there was 3 feet (0·915 m.) of coarse chalk rubble consisting of pieces of chalk not more than 4 inches (0·102 m.) across at most, the two upper feet (0·610 m.) of which were tolerably hard and compact being consolidated by moisture, so that the spade cut through the pieces without displacing them, but in the remaining foot (0·306 m.) the chalk rubble was looser, so that the pieces came out bodily in digging. Beneath this the remainder of the ditch to the bottom was filled with fine chalk rubble. There were no seams of mould in the *silting* of the ditch but along the face of the escarp and the counterscarp a slight admixture of ferruginous colouring about 6 inches (0·153 m.) thick was observed, implying exposure to the atmosphere and shewing, perhaps, that the ditch was kept open for some time after its construction, or it may have arisen from particles arrested by the hard surface of the undisturbed chalk during filtration as is frequently the case in superficial deposits. It is important to notice these facts due to the results of denudation, because in a chalk soil the lines of demarcation between the deposits are more

[a] In using the terms "front" and "rear" in this paper, I mean by the former the direction of the outside of the Camp, and by the latter the direction of the inside of the Camp.

clearly defined than in some soils and will serve as a guide to future explorers. I consider the fact of escarp and counterscarp having been carefully dug at an angle of 45° shews that the work was intended to be permanent, because in the solid chalk for temporary purposes the ditch might have been dug at a much steeper slope and advantage would be derived from making the sides more perpendicular. The small rampart outside the ditch was also cut through, but it produced nothing of consequence.

Second section of the Upper Rampart, west end, X, Plate XVI. and fig. 2, Plate XVII. sections 7, 8, and 9 of the Relic Table.

I then cut a section 11 feet (3·355 m.) wide into the rampart of the Citadel at the west end, commencing at the foot of the interior slope, extending it to about 2 feet (0·610 m.) beyond the crest or 13 feet (3·962 m.) from the foot of the interior slope. In the *silting* of the interior slope the principal objects discovered were—a corner fragment of some kind of basin, perhaps a font or *bénitier* ornamented with four Norman arches having the form and tracery of the twelfth century (Plate XIX. fig. 26). It is cut in hard chalk stone, a material of which so many churches in this district were built. This undoubted relic of Norman times, like all the other objects mentioned in this paper, I saw unearthed with my own eyes. I saw the turf taken off in the morning and never left the spot, watching the workmen all the time until I observed this and the other objects associated with it turned up out of the soil, and I picked it up before the workmen had noticed it; it was 2 feet 2 inches (0·660 m.) beneath the top of the rampart and 4 feet (1·219 m.) in, from the foot of the slope, and, although it was in the *silting* of the interior slope and therefore possibly of a later date than the actual construction of the rampart, yet it was so close to the probable line of the original interior slope that it must have been deposited there during the earliest occupation of the Camp; the surface of the chalk of which this object is composed shews signs of weathering. Another fragment of a stone basin was found near it (Plate XX. fig. 38.) Amongst the objects found in the *silting* of the interior slope was a small pinnacle (Plate XIX. fig. 23) of the same material as the last, possibly an ornament of a chapel established within the Camp. It will be remembered that amongst the relics of the Norman age at Pevensey, the well and the font are conspicuous. A people so strict in their religious observances as the Normans would never have constructed a fortress without building a chapel of some kind, whether permanent or temporary, and of such a chapel the relics under consideration no doubt formed part. There was found besides in the same place the top stone of a quern 1 foot 5 inches (0·432 m.) in

diameter and 2 inches (0·051 m.) thick; it had an aperture in the centre 3 inches (0·077 m.) square on the lower side, and contracting to a circle of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches (0·064 m.) in diameter at the top, with a receptacle for a handle on the upper side; it was in a horizontal position in the *silting* of the interior slope, the centre being 1 foot 7 inches (0·482 m.) beneath the top and 6 feet (1·829 m.) in from the foot; near it was the blade of an iron knife (Plate XVIII. fig. 7) $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches (0·190 m.) in length, and a fragment of a spindle-whorl (Plate XIX. fig. 28). There was also found in the same place a piece of twisted iron resembling the sides of the loop (Plate XVIII. fig. 10). In the top of the rampart was found a small figure of a head carved in the same chalk as the other objects (Plate XIX. figs. 21 and 22) and near it a fragment of an iron padlock (Plate XVIII. fig. 6). This kind of padlock composed of a spring or springs fitting into a tubular apparatus and opening by means of a key which compresses the springs and enables them to be withdrawn from the tube with the apparatus attached to them appears to have been one of the most persistent forms in art; with but slight modifications the same form is used in India and China at the present time, and was until quite lately in Scandinavia. It was in common use by the Romans. An example of the particular variety of this kind of padlock to which the present specimen belongs "*Serrura pendens*"[a] is figured in the thirty-first volume of the *Archæological Journal;* it was found in Swanscombe Church in Kent, and is supposed to be of the fifteenth century, but during what extent of time this precise form may have continued in use I am not aware. It differs from the Roman lock only in the form of the hook attached to the spring, the end of which fits into a socket instead of being furnished with a ring slipping over a bar as in the Roman and Indian examples. An illustration of the Roman form of padlock is given in the thirteenth volume of the *Archæological Journal;*[b] the bar of the Roman lock is represented as a survival in the mediæval form. Somewhat similar locks are still used in Germany, and the lock of the handcuffs used by the police and in the army is much the same in external appearance.

The head found near it is rudely cut in chalk and has a hole under the neck to fit into some kind of stick. It evidently represents the head of a man in armour, but whether in a hood of chain mail or in a helm it is difficult to determine. The projection on the forehead may represent a vizor (if so, the vizor was not introduced with the basinet until the end of the thirteenth century), but it is possible it may only represent the coiffe under the hood of mail. Vizor or coiffe,

[a] *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxi. p. 78.

[b] *Archæological Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 4, plate 2, figs. 24, 26, and 27.

it is ornamented with a cross within a circle, and on each side are marks representing an eye or slit of some kind. The figure has also two other crosses, one on the top of the head and the other at the back. Five incised lines on the side of the head may perhaps be intended to represent the lines of chain mail. The upper lip is provided with large moustachios; it will be remembered that when Harold sent spies into William's camp they returned with the information that the army was composed chiefly of priests, having mistaken the soldiers for priests, on account of their practice of closely shaving the upper lip and chin, the Saxons themselves wearing moustachios. In the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen long moustachios were worn by the Normans. The custom was abandoned again in the reign of Henry II., and they were again worn towards the close of the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion.[a] Unless, therefore, the figure is of a much later date, it would appear probable that it might be of the reign of Stephen or Henry I. Its position and that of the fragment of padlock about one foot (0·306 m.) beneath the surface, and three feet (0·915 m.) to the rear of the crest of the rampart makes it uncertain whether they belonged to the body of the rampart or the *silting*, but probably the latter, in which case they might be more recent than the first construction of the Camp. But they are probably of the same date.

In both the *silting* of the interior slope and the *body* of the rampart, on the old surface *line*, and therefore in a position to prove conclusively that it was covered up during the formation of the rampart, pottery covered with green glaze was found, together with the various qualities of unglazed already mentioned, but no British pottery. A fragment of a sinuous horseshoe of similar form to the one already noticed was found in the *silting* of the interior slope.

Third section, Upper Rampart, sections 10 and 11 of the Relic Table, Y, Plate XVI., Plate XVII. fig. 3.

This was a section 9 feet (2·743 m.) wide, cut in the rampart of the Citadel for a distance of 16 feet (4·878 m.) from the foot of the interior slope, so as to extend beyond the crest, it was 90 feet (27 m.) to the west of the first section measured from centre to centre. Plate XVII. fig. 3, represents this section, which is Y in the Plan, Plate XVI. In the *silting* of the interior slope was found an iron knife (Plate XVIII. fig. 8), somewhat similar to the one found at the west end, but smaller; one of the T-shaped horseshoe nails belonging to the form of shoe already described; another fragment of a knife (Plate XVIII. fig. 13), and a lozenge-shaped iron head of a clench-bolt similar to those found in the trench in

[a] Planché's *Cyclopædia of Costume*, vol. i. p. 238.

the interior. In the body of the rampart of this section, well down on the old surface line, 3 feet 10 inches (1·169 m.) beneath the turf, and 6 feet (1·829 m.) to the rear of the crest at B (Plate XVII. fig. 3) was also found a fragment of the same glazed pottery as before. The fact of finding glazed pottery in the body of the rampart of the Citadel in two places is sufficient to prove that the rampart is post-Roman, for, although the Romans were acquainted with the art of glazing pottery, their glazing is of a totally different character to this, and was used only with a finer class of earthenware. The green glazed pottery we are now dealing with is not earlier than Norman times, but may be of any date later than that. Unglazed pottery was also found, and it was of the same quality as the glazed. It was customary to glaze only the upper portion of each pot, and this accounts for so many more fragments of the unglazed being found in all parts of the camp, even though the quality of the earthenware is in all respects similar.

First section of the Outer Rampart, Z Plan, and fig. 4, Plate XVII. sections 12 and 13 of the Relic Table.

A cutting 4 feet (1·219 m.) wide was then made in the Outer Rampart on the north side on the continuation of the line of section 1 of the Upper Rampart, and this was enlarged in the centre where the relics were discovered. Nothing but pottery of the usual kind was found in the interior slope, and in a little ditch, D, at the foot of it, but in the body of the rampart (Plate XVII. fig. 4) a seam of darker mould, A B, was found running obliquely up to beyond the crest. The foot of this seam was about 14 feet (4·628 m.) in from the present foot, and therefore too far in the body of the rampart to be the original interior slope; it could only represent some deposit of *débris* thrown on during the construction of the rampart and containing the articles found in it. At the foot of this seam, on the old surface line, and for a foot or two up it, a number of relics were discovered, including fifteen T-shaped horse-shoe nails of the form already described as belonging to the sinuous shoe, together with two fragments of the shoes themselves (Plate XVIII. figs. 16 and 17), two copper gilt objects with tangs and holes for nails or rivets (Plate XIX. figs. 29 and 30), and a fragment of another (Plate XIX. fig. 33), the use of which I cannot ascertain, part of an iron buckle, and a copper gilt band (Plate XIX. fig. 34), ornamented with four studs on one side exactly similar to that represented in Plate XIX. fig. 27, and found in the trenches in the interior of the Citadel. The section of the band of copper is flat on one side and convex on the other, its greatest thickness 0·13 inch (0·002 m.) and breadth 0·24 inch (0·006 m.), the studs are on the convex side, and it is bent towards the flat side. The ends are pointed and turned up towards the convex

side and pierced with holes 0·14 inch (0·002 m.) in diameter for the reception of nails or rivets. What use it served I am unable to conjecture; the gilding adhered to the copper in places; it is 4·86 inches (0·123 m.) in length. The pottery found in the body of the Outer Rampart was of the same kind as in the Upper Rampart, proving that both ramparts are of the same date. The ditch F (Plate XVII. fig. 1) was of the same construction as the upper ditch; both escarp and counterscarp were cut smoothly in the solid chalk at an angle of 45°, no revetment. It was 37 feet (11·280 m.) wide at the top, measured on the old surface line, and of triangular section. The escarp 30 feet (9·147 m.) high, measured along the face of it, and the counterscarp 19 feet (5·792 m.) high. They had probably been intended to meet in a point at the bottom, like the upper ditch, but there is an irregular space at the bottom at the part excavated which makes this somewhat uncertain. The centre of the bottom of the present ditch is 7 feet 6 inches (2·286 m.) above, and 3 feet (0·915 m.) to the front of the old bottom; the turf mould is 10 inches (0·254 m.) thinning towards the sides. Outside the the ditch there appears to have been a covered way about 2 feet 9 inches (0·832 m.) wide and beyond it a small bank, T U on Plan and G, fig. 1, Plate XVII. which by the appearance of the cutting made in it appears to be ancient, but upon this point I am not certain.

A second small cutting in the Outer Rampart to the west of the last (J, Plan) produced nothing of consequence, and a third to the east of it (O, Plan) produced one iron T-shaped horse-shoe nail of the same kind as before.

A section was cut in the ditch of the Traverse on the north or lower end ("a," Plan,) but nothing was found except a few pieces of pottery of the usual kind. The old bottom was found at 3 feet 7 inches (1·092 m.) beneath the present surface; it was concave and 1 foot 9 inches (0·528 m.) broad, the escarp ran at an angle of 37° and the small counterscarp more abruptly at an angle of 50°. No revetment.

Three depressions at the east end of the outer camp (S, Plan) were examined, the dimensions of which are given in the Relic Table. Two pieces of iron were found at the bottom of one of them, perhaps the remains of a knife, but much corroded and broken. The pottery was of three kinds and included seven pieces of coarse British pottery. It is possible that these pits may have been of an earlier date than the Camp, if so, they must have been opened and refilled. Some depressions were also examined near the south rampart but without result (R, Plan).

The large pit (P, Plan) in the outer camp was excavated to a depth of

7 feet (2·133 m.) but nothing was found except a few nails, probably modern, and a quantity of lambs' bones, the bottom was not reached and press of time prevented further search, but this pit should be examined at some future time.

A cutting was made through the ditch of the Citadel on the south side (b, Plan). The present bottom was found to be about 4 feet (1·219 m.) above and 3 feet 10 inches (1·169 m.) to the front of the old bottom, which was flat, and 1 foot 9 inches (0·528 m.) broad. Nothing was found and there was no trace of revetment.

There are numerous causeways across the ditches of both upper and lower camps with corresponding openings in the ramparts. By some these have been supposed to be ancient, but the number of them is unusual and suggests the probability of their having been made at some comparatively recent time for the ingress of cattle from the adjoining field to the pasture land in the interior. To test this point a small shaft was sunk through one of them to ascertain whether it was formed of made earth or was a portion of the ground unexcavated in the original formation of the ditch, and if the former, whether any bottom existed on the line of the present bottom of the ditch which might indicate at what time it was made. It was found that a distinct line of mould was reached marking the height to which the ditch had silted up at the time the causeway was made. The top of this line of mould was 4 inches (0·102 m.) lower than the present bottom of the ditch at the side of the causeway, so that an approximate idea can be formed of the period in the history of the Camp at which the causeway was constructed by throwing down earth from the rampart into the ditch. The ditch had already silted up about 7 feet 10 inches (2·387 m.) when the causeway was made, and since that time it has silted up 4 inches (0·102 m.) more, implying a comparatively recent date for the construction of the causeway. Having been thus proved to be modern, these causeways are not shewn on the Plan.

This concludes the account of the excavations. The evidence is conclusive as far as it goes. British pottery has not been found in any part of the body of the rampart or in any position in which it might not have been introduced in consequence of the destruction of a tumulus on the site of the Camp. Glazed pottery has been found in two places in the body of the Upper Rampart in positions in which it must have been placed during the construction of the work; it corresponds with fragments found in the trenches in the interior and in the Well, and it is of the same quality of earthenware as other fragments of unglazed which are more abundant. Copper gilt objects of like form have been found in the body of the Outer Rampart, in the interior, and in the Well.

The only coin turned up was a silver penny of Stephen in the trenches in the interior. A fragment of a carved chalk basin found in the *silting* of the interior slope of the Citadel, but close to the body of the rampart, has on it undoubted evidence of twelfth-century work. The knives, clench-bolts, fragment of padlock, buckle, the head in armour, the cooking pots with slightly convex bottoms, are all of mediæval form. The animal remains, as identified by Professor Rolleston, are all domestic, and the presence of fallow deer in four places proves that that animal of Roman introduction was common during the occupation of the place. The bones of a young falcon found in the body of the outer rampart speak to us of the prevailing sport of falconry at the time of the erection of the Camp. Not a fragment of anything Roman has been found in the place, and it remains only to say a few words on the subject of the horse-shoes and the nails belonging to them which have been found in all parts of the Camp.

The time has gone by when the first introduction of the art of shoeing horses in England can any longer be attributed to the Normans, but that the Normans introduced the general practice of it there is abundant evidence to prove, and the great number of fragments of shoes and shoenails all of the same character, which have been found in all parts of Cæsar's Camp, in the Well, the pit, the *silting* of the Upper Rampart in two places, and the body of the Outer Rampart in two places shows that the practice of shoeing must have been common at the time of the construction of the Camp. But the particular form of horse-shoe found in Cæsar's Camp has been made the subject of special study by Mr. Fleming[a] in his work on horse-shoeing, in which he comes to the conclusion that it is Celtic, and that its use was abandoned in Europe long before the tenth century. No entire shoe was discovered in Cæsar's Camp, but the fragments (Plate XVIII. figs. 2, 16, and 17) are sufficient to show that they were intended for horses of small size. The greatest length down the centre was 4·3 inches (0·111 m.); the greatest width of the iron in the intervals between the sinuosities 0·7 inch (0·017 m.) or 0·8 inch (0·018 m.), thickness 0·2 inch (0·005 m.). Each shoe has six ovoid holes, three on each side, 0·4 inch (0·010 m.) in length; it has calkins 0·9 inch (0·023 m.) in length at the ends. Each nail-hole is accompanied by a bulge on the outer margin of the shoe, formed by the punching of the hole for the nail, and producing the sinuous edge, which is characteristic of this class of shoe in all parts of Europe. The nail is also of the form which accompanies the shoe wherever found,

[a] *Horse-shoes and Horse-shoeing, their Origin, History, and Abuses*, by George Fleming, F.R.G.S., F.A.S.L., p. 148.

being about 1·1 inch (0·028 m.) in length, the head T-shaped, or rather half-moon-shaped and flat 0·6 inch (0·015 m.) wide, 0·4 inch (0·010 m.) high, and 0·15 inch (0·003 m.) in thickness; it fits into the ovoid hole, but must have extended beneath the shoe when on the horse's hoof. Some of the nails were found rusted into the shoe as shown in Plate XVIII. figs. 2 and 17, proving that the shoe had been used. Mr. Fleming, in his valuable work, enters so fully into the history of this shoe that it would occupy unnecessary space to repeat any portion of his argument here, suffice to say that he has shown the probability, if not the proof, of this form of shoe having been used, both in England and on the Continent, in Celtic times; but I think the present find will go far towards discrediting the opinion that it was discontinued before the tenth century. On this part of the subject Mr. Fleming affords but little evidence, and what there is either in his work or elsewhere appears to me to tend the other way. Several instances may be quoted of the occurrence of this sinuous horse-shoe and shoenail in association with the prick-spur which has a long shank and a conical point, and this spur is undoubtedly post-Roman and Norman. At Yebleron, near Rouen, a shoe of this kind with the nail in it was found in 1844 in association with the spur in question, and other objects of Frankish origin. In the lake dwellings discovered by Mr Chantre,[a] in Lake Paladru (Isère), these shoes were also discovered in connection with the same form of spur and other objects of the Carlovingian era. Seven of these shoes are in the museum at St. Germains. In the Buttes de Saint Austaille (Creuse), similar shoes, again accompanied by the same form of spur, were discovered in association with coins of the Carlovingian era, and, as this form of spur continued in use amongst the Normans, there is no inherent improbability in supposing the shoe to have been also in use at that time. In 1878 some shoes of this form were found close to the old castle of Oxford. Mr. G. A. Rowell, who describes them in the *Archaeological Journal*, following Captain Fleming, believes them to be British, but the fact of their having been discovered within the original boundaries of the castle moat has led some persons to believe them to be Norman and possibly of the date of the siege of the castle by King Stephen.[b] In the museum under the theatre at Le Mans there is a sinuous shoe with six holes found in association with a Marteau d' Armes of the fourteenth century to which it is attached in the museum. In the museum at Clermont Ferrand another with the T-shaped nail

[a] *Les Palafittes du Lac de Paladru*, par M. E. Chantre. Grenoble, 1871.

[b] *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxxiv. p. 465.

in it is exhibited, having been found near Vollore Ville in association with thick grey pottery, having raised bands on it, and several copper or bronze gilt fragments very similar in character to those found in Cæsar's Camp. Shoes of the same kind found by M. Boucher de Perthes on the field of Crécy lead one to suppose that they may even have been used as lately as the middle of the fourteenth century.[a] The ornamentation of the pottery from Lake Paladru corresponds precisely to some of that from Cæsar's Camp represented in Plate XX. fig. 41, being composed of raised bands notched with the impress of the fingers. If any doubt existed as to whether the shoe-nails in Cæsar's Camp were coeval with the pottery, that doubt would be removed by the inspection of the fragment represented in Plate XVIII. fig. 18, in which one of the T-shaped nails is seen adhering by oxidation to a piece of pottery of the quality referred to in the sixth column of the Relic Table. It was found 3 feet 10 inches (1·169 m.) beneath the surface in the body of the Outer Rampart.

The general character of this earthwork, with a citadel in one corner, is Norman, and the fact of its being unwalled is no reason for considering it earlier than that period. M. de Caumont[b] has given a long list of fortresses in Normandy which were used up to the time of the Conquest and later (some of them bearing the names of the families that accompanied the Conqueror to England), but which have no trace of any walled enclosure, and consisted of ramparts of earth surmounted by palisades and having wooden interior structures. Of these the majority have a motte or donjon, a conical mound in the interior, but others are without this accessory. We also know that the Conqueror brought over with him a wooden fort which was erected on landing. A work like that, here called the Traverse, appears also to have been commonly employed in mediæval fortresses under the name of Brattish,[c] a kind of palisading across the lists to cut off the part on which the assailants had effected a breach. This Traverse appears to me to have been a permanent structure erected at the same time as the Camp, but I am not aware of the existence of any work of this nature in a British fortress. The fact of this Camp having two appellations in the neighbourhood is significant; the name of Castle Hill is probably the original one, whilst Cæsar's Camp has been introduced subsequently to the loss of all reliable information respecting it.

[a] Fleming, p. 148.

[b] *Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales*, Cinquième P^tie^, pp. 110—138.

[c] *Military Architecture of the Middle Ages*, by Viollet le Duc, pp. 40, 41.

At what precise period this Camp was constructed must for the present remain in doubt, but further excavations may determine the point. William, after the battle of Hastings, appears to have been careful to secure his base of operations on the coast, and for this reason, before marching to London, he moved eastward to secure Dover. It is not improbable this work may have been thrown up at that time to command the landing place at Folkestone. It is possible it may have been erected during the troubled reign of Stephen, when the whole country bristled with fortresses; it is even possible that it may be earlier than the time of the Conquest, though the occupation of it for some time subsequently to that event appears certain from the evidence adduced; but I am inclined to think, from its position, that at whatever time it was erected it was intended for the defence of the coast. From Walmer to Folkestone, a distance of thirteen miles (21 kil.), the coast is defended by inaccessible cliffs, with the exception of the gap at Dover, which from the earliest times had been occupied by a fortress. Folkestone is the first point westward on the coast-line, at which an enemy coming from Calais or Boulogne could land. Eastwear Bay, near Folkestone, still forms a kind of harbour sheltered from some winds, and at the time we are considering the extension seawards of the ground now occupied by Folkestone harbour, which is known to have been since eroded by the encroachments of the sea, must have sheltered the landing place in Eastwear Bay from the west and south-west. The bay had been a British station from the earliest times, as testified by British coins and other relics found there. Cæsar's Camp, occupying the ridge of downs above, and the entrenchment extending along the downs between it and the sea-cliff, would have effectually secured the landing-place, as no enemy could have advanced from thence into the interior without taking it. I assume therefore that it was for the defence of the coast that this Camp was erected, but at this point the labours of the Archæologist, for the present at least, must cease. Having brought the Camp within the pale of historic times, I leave further speculation on the subject to historians.

*Notes on the two sets of Bones from Cæsar's Camp, Folkestone, and from Mount Caburn, near Lewes. By Professor* Rolleston, F.R.S. &c.

The two sets of bones from Mount Caburn and from Cæsar's Camp respectively resemble each other in certain points in which also they differ from earlier prehistoric collections of a similar kind.

1st. The presence of the flounder-tailed breed of sheep, a breed now confined to the Shetlands and other still more northern districts.

2nd. In neither series have I found any wild mammals of the kinds used for food ordinarily. The *Sus* and *Bos* are domesticated specimens. How different in all respects from the remains found in the flint mines at Cissbury, regard being had to distinguish between the flint mines and the camp there, which last has been shewn to be of more recent origin. For which see *Journal of the Anthropological Institute.*

The two series are thus brought probably within comparatively recent times, but there are not wanting certain considerations which seem to show that the Mount Caburn series was the earlier of the two.

I. I find no remains of the horse in the Cæsar's Camp series, though several of horse shoes were found; *per contra* in some four or five of the Mount Caburn pits I find the remains of horse, *e.g.*, pits 26, 40, 17, and 38, and in the last of them I observe the lower jaw has had its lower angle broken away with the parts of the horizontal ramus adjacent or adherent to it, just as the jaws of pigs are usually found broken in prehistoric series and presumably for the purpose of extracting food, to wit, marrow, from them. It is well known that horseflesh was an article of diet among Pagans in the early centuries of our era, and even amongst some Christians; as the line "*Sit feralis equi caro dulcis sub cruce Christi*" shows. But the Christian missionaries in Saxon times set their faces against this, as also against the equally reprehensible practice of wearing beards, and this may account for the absence of horse bones in the Cæsar's Camp series. Still I ought to say that in pits of more recent date in this city of Oxford I have found horse bones mixed up with those of oxen and sheep in smaller but still very sensible proportions. The butcher perhaps could, I do not say would, explain this singular intermixture. I will only say there appears to be some necessary correlation

between Hippophagy, Pogonotrophy, and perhaps Paganism. Bishop Wigram, if still living, might possibly have decided this question in the affirmative.

II. The fallow deer, *Cervus dama*, is found in the Cæsar's Camp series twice, and this is a very important difference as regards Mount Caburn, where the animal, probably imported by the Romans, is not found. This point is discussed or touched upon in "*British Barrows*," page 134.

III. The presence of the falcon in Cæsar's Camp is as striking a proof of its being misnamed as perhaps any other; falconry was a mediæval sport, at least in Europe; and the dark ages, to speak like an Irishman, saw its origin and its obscuration, its *ortum atque occasum* in Europe, though not of course in the East.

IV. Mount Caburn has furnished us with goat as well as sheep bones; I am not sure that there are goat bones in Cæsar's Camp.

V. But Mount Caburn has no bones of the hare, *Lepus timidus*. *Leporem Britanni non putant fas esse gustare* says Julius, whilst Cæsar's Camp has furnished us with these, though with no bones of rabbit, *Leporis caniculi*.

A few points worthy of note, but without any special bearing on the relative dates of the series as far as I can see at present, are contributed by the presence of the conger eel, of the goose, and of a large number of lamb's bones in the large pit in Cæsar's Camp, and by the large size of some of the pig bones from Mount Caburn, the pig being an animal largely represented in late Celtic works of art and ornamentation.

There is no great difference in the molluscan fauna of the two places. In Mount Caburn oysters were found only on or near the surface in positions in which they might have been introduced in more recent times; in Cæsar's Camp one oyster-shell was found in the body of the Outer Rampart; at both places were found limpets and whelks. I find a number of *Mytilus edulis*, the common mussel, in Mount Caburn, but none in Cæsar's Camp. *Helix aspersa* and *nemoralis* are probably found in both.

# RELIC TABLE, CÆSAR'S CAMP, FOLKESTONE, JUNE AND JULY, 1878.

| No. | 1. Locality. | 2. Date. | 3. Description. | Pottery. 4. Glazed. Total No. of fragments. | 4. Glazed. Percentage of each kind. | 5. Finest quality of unglazed, mostly buff-coloured. Total No. of fragments. | 5. Finest quality of unglazed, mostly buff-coloured. Percentage of each kind. | 6. Fine quality, chiefly red, hard, sandy texture, without large grains, lathe-turned. Total No. of fragments. | 6. Fine quality, chiefly red, hard, sandy texture, without large grains, lathe-turned. Percentage of each kind. | 7. Coarse quality, red, hard, with large grains, lathe-turned. Total No. of fragments. | 7. Coarse quality, red, hard, with large grains, lathe-turned. Percentage of each kind. | 8. Very coarse, chiefly black, soft, large grains, apparently not lathe-turned, perhaps British. Total No. of fragments. | 8. Very coarse, chiefly black, soft, large grains, apparently not lathe-turned, perhaps British. Percentage of each kind. | 9. Other Relics. | 10. Animal Remains. | 11. Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Pit No. 1. The Well. N Plan, Plate XVII. fig. 1. | June 3rd to July 1st, 1878. | Circular shaft, sides smooth, in the bottom of a basin, which indicated its position on the surface, basin 4 feet (1·218 M.) deep, shaft funnel-shaped, 9 feet (2·739 M.) in diameter at top, 3 feet 10 inches (1·169 M.) in diameter at 16 feet (4·872 M.), 3 feet 4 inches (2·841 M.) at 38 feet (11·571 M.), 3 feet 8 inches (2·942 M.) at 84 feet (25·603 M.), 84 feet (25·603 M.) excavated and bottom not reached; foot-holes down shaft on two opposite sides, which turn spirally towards the bottom; filled chiefly with chalk, with occasional mould. | 1 | 1·2 | 2 | 2·4 | 73 | 86·9 | 4 | 4·8 | 4 | 4·8 | Small piece of glazed pottery at 30 feet (9·144 M.); two fragments of finest quality of unglazed grey; a few lumps of concrete composed of mortar and shore pebbles at various depths, from 9 feet (2·739 M.) downwards; an iron tube or ferrule 2 inches (0·051 M.) long near top, Plate XVIII, fig. 12; a bird's egg in crevice at side at 9 feet (2·739 M.); piece of iron buckle at 17 feet 6 inches (5·329 M.); iron nails, some with round flat heads, at various depths; a piece of v shaped gilt brass or bronze, similar to others found in the outer rampart at 20 feet (6·090 M.), Plate XIX. fig. 32; a small iron wedge, 2¾ inches (0·064 M.) long, in one of the foot holes, at 59 feet 6 inches (18·117 M.), Plate XVIII. fig. 20; iron T-shaped horse-shoe nails, similar to others found in 1st and 3rd sections outer rampart and 3rd section upper rampart, at 84 feet (25.603 M.) | Helix aspersa and Helix nemoralis. Oysters at 75 feet (22·837 M.) A Cardium echinatum. At 84 feet, the lowest point reached, had Lepus timidus. Sus scrofa dom. Canis dom. Sheep or goat. June 6th, at 14 feet 2 inches, the same with addition of fallow deer. Limpet. Cyclostoma. Helix aspersa and nemoralis. At 3 feet 8 inches: Bos. Sus. Ovis. Pigeon. Whelk. Oyster. Garden snail. At 9 feet: Sus. At 32 to 38 feet; Badger. Lamb, and one bone of sheep or goat. June 4th, Top. Sus. Sheep. Oyster. Helix aspersa. A nearly perfect skeleton of a small dog, size of a small terrier. | No Wild Bos. or Sus. Dom. for domestic and Ferns for wild is accordingly omitted in the column of animal remains. |
| 2 | Pit No. 2, M Plan. | June 3rd to June 5th. | Somewhat similar in form to Pit No. 1, in a basin slightly oval at top; top 8 feet (2·436 M.) by 6 feet (1·824 M.); bottom 3 feet 10 inches (1·169 M.) by 3 feet (0·913 M.); 15 feet 10 inches (4·825 M.) deep below bottom of basin. Hard chalk bottom reached at that depth. A seam of mould at 3 feet 6 inches (1·066 M.) beneath bottom of basin, sides not so smooth as the shaft in Pit No. 1, no footholes. Pit No. 2 is 40 feet (12·180 M.) to the east of Pit No. 1, from centre to centre, both near foot of interior slope of rampart. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 90 | 97·8 | 2 | 2·2 | 0 | 0 | Loop of twisted iron at 12 feet 6 inches (3·807 M.), Plate XVII. fig. 10; cooking pot, nearly entire, at 13 feet 10 inches (3·709 M.), Plate XX. fig. 43; bone whistle with two finger holes at 13 feet (3·954 M.), Plate XX. fig. 35; piece of iron horse-shoe with sinuous edge at 13 feet 10 inches (3·709 M.), Plate XVIII. fig. 2; iron buckle at 14 feet (3·760 M.), Plate XVIII. fig. 9; two buckles and iron clinkers at 15 feet (4·565 M.); bottom and part of sides of cooking pot at 15 feet 2 inches (4·616 M.), Plate XX. fig. 44; iron nails with round flat heads at various depths; iron arrow head with socket and leaf-shaped head, Plate XVIII. fig. 1, found in filling in the pit June 14th; must have been low down in the pit. | Oysters. Helix aspersa and Helix nemoralis. June 4th, Bos. Sus. Ovis. Found in filling in, Pigeon. Goose. Rat. Sucking pig. June 5th, in the pot, 15 feet deep. Game fowl, has four spurs. Pigeon and Mus. June 5th, Pigeon. Oysters. Sus. Bos. Helix aspersa. From 12 feet from bottom a large sheep like sheep from bottom of Pit V. Mount Caburn. Sept. 5th, 1877, Sucking pig. Bos longifrons with short horns. Game fowl. Gallus Galli Pigeon. Conger Eel | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Plate XVII. fig. 1. | | slope was 3 feet 4 inches (2·842 M.), horizontal measurement, and the soil had silted up 3 feet (0·913 M.) in height at the foot. Two cuttings, each 4 feet (1·218 M.) wide. | | | | | | | | | | | deer in addition. June 6th, Bos. Oysters. | |
| 4 | Pit beneath interior slope of Upper Rampart, 1st section, Plate XVII. fig. 1. | June 8th, 1878. | A small pit found under the foot of the interior slope, and parallel to it, 3 feet 10 inches (1·167 M.) deep, 6 feet 1·826 M.) long, and 4 feet (1·218 M.) wide; appears to have been dug before the interior slope silted up. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 19·9 | 17 | 80·9 | 0 | 0 | A disc of lead 1 inch (0·026 M.) in diameter and $\frac{1}{8}$ inch (0·002 M.) thick, with a hole in the centre, Plate XIX. fig. 25; a carved dish, or mould of chalk, with a hole at one end, bored from both sides; Plate XIX. fig. 24; an iron pin and one flint flake. | Oysters. Bristles of hedge-hog. Bos. Sus. Equus. Cervus dama. Fallow deer. Oysters. | |
| 5 | Body of rampart, 1st section, W Plan, Plate XVII. fig. 1. | June 6th, 7th, and 8th, 1878. | Being all the *remblai* of the Upper Rampart beyond the silting; height of crest above old surface line, 6 feet 8 inches (2·030 M.); length of old surface line, 41 feet 7 inches (12·661 M.); two cuttings, each 4 feet (8·218 M.) wide and 7 feet (2·131 M.) apart between the inner edges; part of the intermediate space also cut away. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 75 | 51·3 | 71 | 48·6 | 0 | 0 | No relics. Some of the rims of pottery ornamented with the impress of the fingers. | No other relics. Shells on old surface line, upper rampart. June 6th and July 1st, are marine and small, viz., Nuclea Nucleus. Muctra Staltorum. | The fact of finding pottery of the fine quality returned in the 6th column in the body of this rampart, on the old surface line, proves that this quality of pottery is of the date of the construction of the rampart. |
| 6 | Trenches in the interior of the upper camp, V Plan. | June 4th, 15th, and 26th, 1878. | The turf was removed in lines along the hollows in the centre of the interior space and at the west end, grubbing up the soil for about a foot in depth. | 2 | 1·0 | 4 | 2·0 | 160 | 82·2 | 16 | 8·2 | 12 | 6·2 | Three flint flakes; part of socket of an iron arrow-head, similar to that found in Pit 2; a silver penny of Stephen, Plate XIX. fig. 31; a brass gilt object, ornamented with a stud similar to others found in the outer rampart, and a quatrefoil termination, Plate XIX. fig. 27; iron nails; an iron clench-bolt, with lozenge-shaped heads, Plate XVIII. fig. 15; and several lozenge-shaped heads without the bolts. | Oysters and Helix nemoralis, Helix aspersa. Bos. Sus. Sheep or Goat.—June 15th June 4th, near the surface. Sheep. Ox. | The pottery here was mostly in very small pieces; besides those counted there were numerous small fragments, less than 1 inch across, not counted. |
| 7 | Interior slope of Upper Rampart, west end section, X Plan, and Plate XVII. fig. 2. | June 26th, 1878. | The part occupied by the silting from the rampart and from the interior, also cuttings to the right and left of the section along the foot of the interior slope. | 25 | 5·5 | 0 | 0 | 348 | 73·4 | 101 | 21·3 | 0 | 0 | A fragment, apparently of a chalk font or holy-water vessel, carved with Norman arches, Plate XIX. fig. 26. at 2 feet 2 inches (0·660 M.) beneath the surface, and 4 feet (1·218 M.) in from the foot of the slope; a small chalk pinnacle at the same place, Plate XIX. fig. 23; a piece of a stone basin, Plate XX. fig. 38; a top stone of a quern in a horizontal position, centre 1 foot 7 inches (0·482 M.) deep beneath the surface of the slope, and 6 feet (1·826 M.) in from the foot of the slope; a fragment of an iron horse-shoe; an iron blade of knife, Plate XVIII. fig. 7, 1 foot 10 inches (0·558 M.) deep; a small band of iron; iron flat-headed nails, mostly bent at right angles; glazed pottery, 2 feet (0·609 M.) deep; a piece of a small spindle whorl, Plate XIX. fig. 28; a fragment of ribbed pottery, and a piece ornamented with a raised pattern. | Oysters. June 26th. Bos. Ovis. Patella. Helix aspersa. | The rims of the pots are ornamented with the impress of the fingers and thumb, forming the rim into a sinuous wave-pattern. |

# Relic Table, Cæsar's Camp, Folkestone, June and July, 1878—*continued.*

| No. | 1. Locality. | 2. Date. | 3. Description. | Pottery. 4. Glazed. Total No. of fragments. | 4. Glazed. Percentage of each kind. | 5. Finest quality of unglazed, mostly buff-coloured. Total No. of fragments. | 5. Finest quality of unglazed, mostly buff-coloured. Percentage of each kind. | 6. Fine quality, chiefly red, hard, sandy texture, without large grains, lathe-turned. Total No. of fragments | 6. Fine quality, chiefly red, hard, sandy texture, without large grains, lathe-turned. Percentage of each kind. | 7 Coarse quality, red, hard, with large grains, lathe-turned. Total No. of fragments. | 7 Coarse quality, red, hard, with large grains, lathe-turned. Percentage of each kind. | 8. Very coarse, chiefly black, soft, large grains, apparently not lathe-turned, perhaps British. Total No. of fragments. | 8. Very coarse, chiefly black, soft, large grains, apparently not lathe-turned, perhaps British. Percentage of each kind. | 9. Other Relics. | 10. Animal remains. | 11. Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | Top of Upper Rampart, west end section, X Plan, and Plate XVII. fig. 2. | June 27th, 1878. | The upper part of the rampart, to a depth of 1 foot 9 inches (0·533 m.) from the crest. | 3 | 1·3 | 0 | 0 | 117 | 75·0 | 36 | 23·1 | 0 | 0 | A small figure of a human head, carved in chalk, with three crosses scratched on the forehead, top, and back, as if dedicating it to superstitious uses, at 1 foot (0·304 m.) beneath crest, Plate XIX. figs. 21 and 22; a piece of an iron padlock, Plate XVIII. fig. 6, at nearly the same depth; and one flint flake. | Oysters, Helix aspersa, and Helix nemoralis. | These objects were probably in the body of the rampart, and of the date of the first construction; but, as doubt may exist from their position and the soil in which they were found, they are returned apart from the things found in the bottom of the *remblai*, which are recorded in the next column. |
| 9 | Body of Upper Rampart, west end, X Plan, and Plate XVII. fig. 2. | June 27th, 1878. | Section, 11 feet 3·352 m. wide, cut from the foot of the interior slope to about 2 feet (0·609 m.) beyond the crest about 13 feet (3·954 m.); the interior slope and the top mould, to a depth of 1 foot 9 inches (0·533 m.), having been returned in previous columns; this leaves a block of about 2 feet (0·609 m.) by 4 feet (1·218 m.), included in this column, all the objects in which were undoubtedly of the age of the first construction of the ramparts. | 3 | 10·0 | 0 | 0 | 27 | 90·0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | Three pieces of iron nail, found with the pottery on the old surface line, 3 feet (0·915 m.) beneath the crest, and one flint flake; the glazed pottery was of the same quality as that found in the interior slope. | Helix aspersa and Helix nemoralis. No Oysters. Interior slope of upper rampart, side cutting. Fallow deer. Cervus dama. Metatarsal. | The glazed pottery found in the body of the rampart on the old surface-line proves that glaze was in use at the time of the first construction of the ramparts. The unglazed pottery found with it also corresponds to that found in the interior slopes and in the interior of the camp. |
| 10 | Interior slope of Upper Rampart, 3rd section, Y Plan, and Plate XVII. fig. 3. | June 29th, 1878. | The part occupied by the silting from the rampart and from the interior; the interior slope had silted up to a depth of 2 feet 9 inches (0·838 m.); the base of interior slope was 9 feet (2·739 m.) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 89 | 50·2 | 85 | 49·8 | 0 | 0 | Iron knife, Plate XVIII. fig. 8, similar to the one found in the interior slope of the west end section, but smaller, 1 foot (0·306 m.) deep; an iron T-shaped horse-shoe nail, similar to those found in the body of the outer rampart, 1st and 3rd sections, and in the bottom of the well, Plate XVIII. figs. 11 and 14; a fragment of a knife or spear-head, with a long tang, Plate XVIII. fig. 13; an iron lozenge-shaped head of bolt; a small bar of iron; several iron nails; a broad flat-headed nail, Plate XVIII. fig. 19; a fragment of pottery of fine texture, ornamented with a line of triangular punch-marks, Plate XX. fig. 47; and a piece of ribbed pottery. | 35 Oyster shells and 150 Whelk shells. Helix aspersa. Helix nemoralis. 1 Cyclostoma. 1 Cardium echinatum. A number of fragments of small bivalves, in a lump. Whelk. Oyster. Sus. Bos. | |

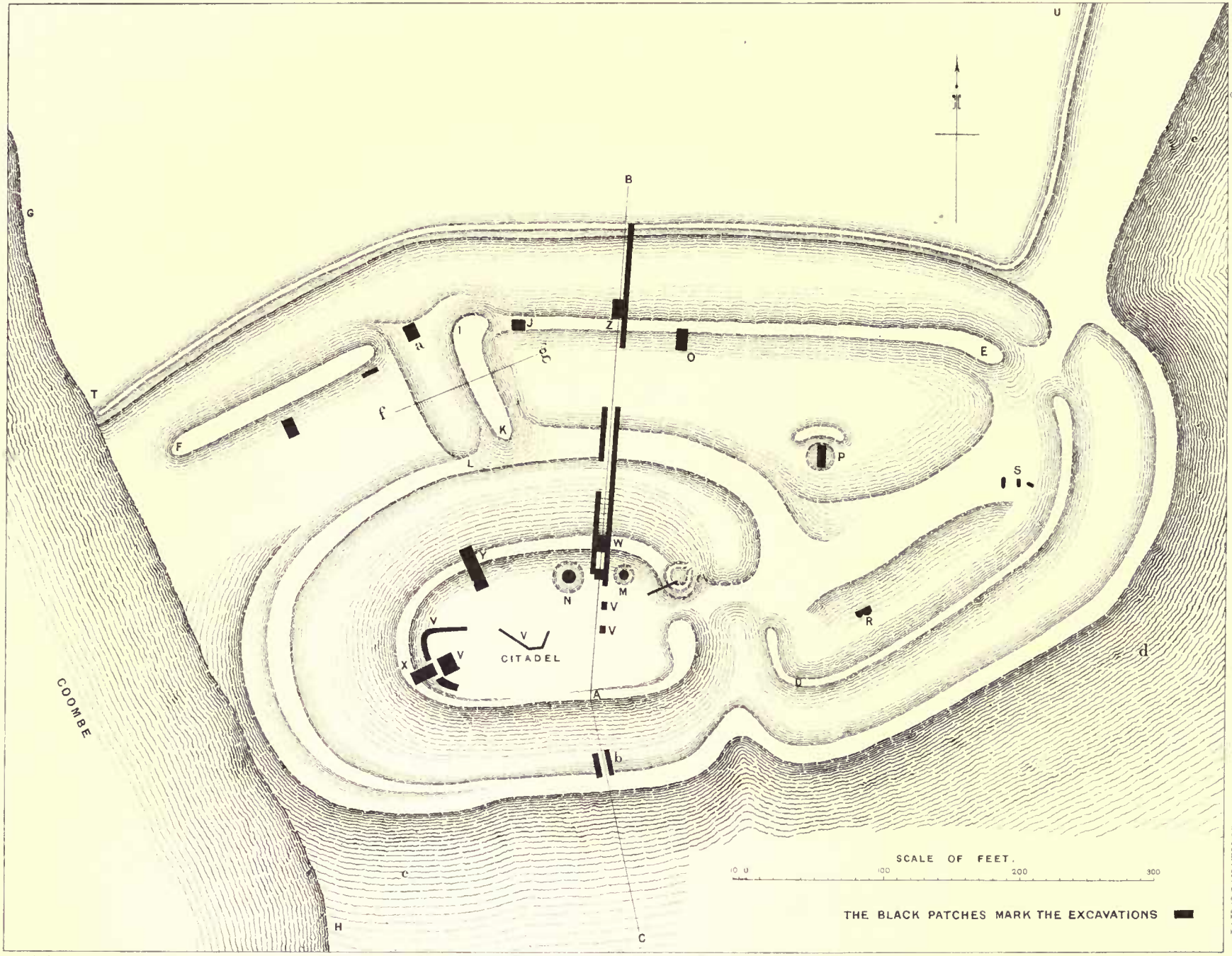
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11 | Body of Upper Rampart, 3rd section, Y Plan, and Plate XVII. fig. 3. | July 1st, 1878. | All the *remblai* of the upper rampart beyond the silting, section 9 feet (2·739 M.) wide, cut into the rampart, laying bare old surface-line as far as 2 feet 4 inches (0·711 M.) beyond the crest, a length of 15 feet 7 inches (4·744 M.), greatest height of crest above old surface-line, 5 feet 10 inches (1·778 M.). | 1 | 3·0 | 0 | 0 | 31 | 91·2 | 2 | 6·0 | 0 | 0 | Iron nail on old surface-line, with fragment of glazed pottery. | No Oysters. Bos. Sus. Ovis. | The position of the fragment of glazed pottery, well down on the old surface-line, as in column No. 9, proves that it is of the date of the first erection of the rampart. This fragment of glazed pottery was of the same quality as the fine quality returned in the 6th vertical column of pottery, only with the addition of glaze, thus affording additional evidence of contemporaneity. |
| 12 | Ditch at foot of interior slope of Outer Rampart, 1st section, Z Plan, Plate XVII. fig. 4. | June 8th, 1878. | A small ditch, about 6 feet 5 inches (1·956 M.) wide, and 1 foot 8 inches (0·506 M.) deep, containing most of the silting of the interior slope of the rampart; it was marked by a slight depression on the surface. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 73·3 | 4 | 27·0 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| 13 | Body of Outer Rampart, 1st section, Z Plan, and Plate XVII. fig. 4. | June 10th, 12th, and 13th, 1878. | All the *remblai* of the outer rampart beyond the silting, section cut all through, laying bare the old surface-line, height of crest above old surface-line, 6 feet 5 inches (1·954 M.), length of old surface-line 48 feet (14·630 M.), cutting 4 feet (1·218 M.) wide, but enlarged to the westward in the centre. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 117 | 100·0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | Fifteen T-shaped iron horse-shoe nails on old surface-line; and, in an oblique seam of mould in centre of rampart, part of an iron buckle; a brass gilt band, ornamented with raised knobs or studs, Plate XIX. fig. 34, similar to those found in the trenches in the interior of the upper camp, see column 6, probably connected with horse-furniture; two fragments of iron horse-shoes, with sinnous rims, Plate XVIII. figs. 16 and 17; three brass gilt heart-shaped objects, probably connected with horse-furniture, Plate XIX. figs. 29, 30, and 33 | One Oyster shell, 4 feet 5 inches beneath the crest on old surface-line. Cyclostoma elegans. Helix aspersa and nemoralis. Sus. and Bos.<br>June 13th. Lepus timidus. Ovis. Bos.<br>June 12th. Bones of young Falcon and old Conger Eel. Bos Sus. Sheep or Goat. | The position of the oyster shell, although the only one found in the body of the rampart, proves that they were used at the time of the construction of the ramparts. |
| 14 | Ditch of Traverse, fg Plan, and Plate XVII. fig. 5. | July 2nd, 1878. | Section towards lowest part of the ditch of Traverse, 3 feet 7 inches (1·090 M.) deep, and 9 feet 6 inches (2·892 M.) wide at top. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 80·0 | 1 | 20·0 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| 15 | 3rd section of Outer Rampart. | July 3rd, 1878. | A cutting, 5 feet (1·522 M.) wide, from the foot of the interior slope to the crest, laying bare the old surface-line. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 100·0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | An iron T-shaped horse-shoe nail, similar to those found in 1st section of outer rampart, the 3rd section of upper rampart, and the well; see horizontal columns 1, 10, and 13. | Bos. Sus. | |
| 16 | 1st oblong pit at east end of outer camp. S Plan. | July 3rd, 1878. | Pit, 7 feet (2·133 M.) long at top, and 5 feet (1·522 M.) at bottom, 4 feet 5 inches (1·346 M.) wide at top, and 2 feet 6 inches (0·762 M.) at bottom, 4 feet 7 inches (1·395 M.) deep, 41 feet (12·496 M.) distant from crest of outer rampart at east side of outer camp; long. axis 25° E. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 100·0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | — — | — — | Filled with mixed chalk and mould, sides smooth, corners rounded. |

## Relic Table, Cæsar's Camp, Folkestone, June and July, 1878—*continued.*

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | Pottery. | | | | | | | | 9. | 10. | 11. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 4. Glazed. | | 5. Finest quality of unglazed, mostly buff-coloured. | | 6. Fine quality, chiefly red, hard, sandy texture, without large grains, lathe-turned. | | 7. Coarse quality, red, hard, with large grains, lathe-turned. | | 8. Very coarse, chiefly black, soft, large grains, apparently not lathe-turned, perhaps British. | | | | |
| | Locality. | Date. | Description. | Total No. of fragments. | Per-centage of each kind. | Total No. of fragments. | Per-centage of each kind. | Total No. of fragments. | Per-centage of each kind. | Total No. of fragments. | Per-centage of each kind. | Total No. of fragments. | Per-centage of each kind. | Other Relics. | Animal Remains. | Remarks. |
| 17 | 2nd oblong pit at east end of outer camp, S Plan. | July 3rd, 1878. | Pit, 7 feet (2·133 m.) long and 5 feet (1·524 m.) at bottom, 2 feet 9 inches (0·832 m.) wide at top and 1 foot 6 inches (0·458 m.) at bottom. 3 feet 3 inches (0·992 m.) deep, with a division at bottom 6 inches (0·153 m.) high, direction parallel to the last, and between it and the rampart east and outer camp. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 100·0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | — — | One Oyster shell. | Filled with mixed chalk and mould, sides smooth, corners rounded. |
| 18 | 3rd oblong pit, at east end of outer camp, S Plan. | July 3rd, 1878. | Pit 4 feet (1·219 m ) long at top, and 2 feet 6 inches (0·763 m.) at bottom; 2 feet 6 inches (0·763 m.) wide at top, and 1 foot 9 inches (0·528 m.) at bottom; 3 feet 1 inch (0·941 m.) deep. Direction, at right-angles to the other pits and to the rampart. Situated between the other pits and the rampart. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 18 | 65·0 | 3 | 10·0 | 7 | 25·0 | Two pieces of Iron, probably part of a knife, at bottom. | Ten oyster shells. Whelk. A young domestic pig. Sus scrofa. | Most of the very coarse pottery was at the bottom, but fine pottery also. One fragment of very coarse at top, with fragments of the fine pottery. |
| 19 | Large pit in centre of outer camp. | July 3rd. 1878. | Pit marked by a deep basin on the surface. Shaft 11 feet (3·327 m.) in diameter at bottom. Excavated to a depth of 7 feet (2·133 m.) and bottom not reached. Abandoned from press of time. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | Nothing found except a few nails, probably modern | Numerous bones of lambs; only one adult sheep or goat bone with them. | |

Note.—The following excavations are not returned in this Table, nothing having been discovered, viz.:—
1. Section through circular ring at east side of Upper Rampart.
2. Cutting in outer camp, to west of Traverse.
3. 2nd section of Outer Rampart
4. Twin pits. 5. Ditch of Upper Rampart south side and mould outside the Camp to the north-east.

Only fragments of 1 inch (0·026 m.) across and upwards are returned in this Table, and the great majority of fragments are about this size, so that the per-centage of fragments affords an approximate idea of the quantity of pottery of each kind.




Archaeologia

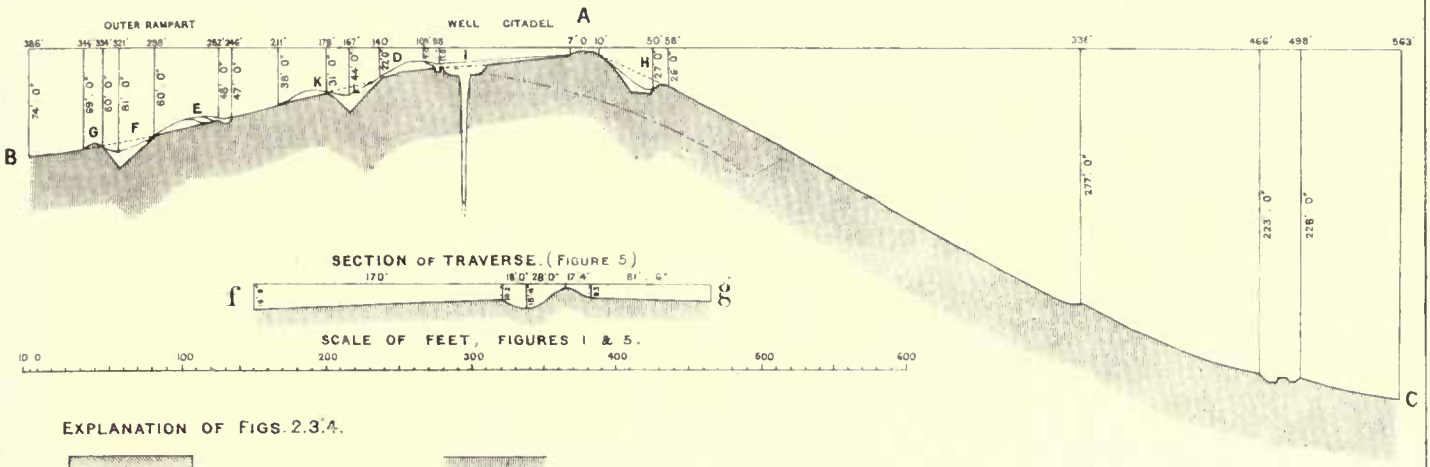
Vol XLVII Pl XVI

C F Kell, Lith. Castle St Holborn London E C

Plan reduced from Ordnance Map and Excavations added by M. Gen[l] Pitt Rivers.

PLAN OF CÆSAR'S CAMP, OR CASTLE HILL, NEAR FOLKESTONE.

## SECTION THROUGH THE CAMP ON THE LINE C.A.B. OF PLAN. (FIGURE 1.)




SECTION OF TRAVERSE. (FIGURE 5.)




SCALE OF FEET, FIGURES 1 & 5.




EXPLANATION OF FIGS. 2.3.4.

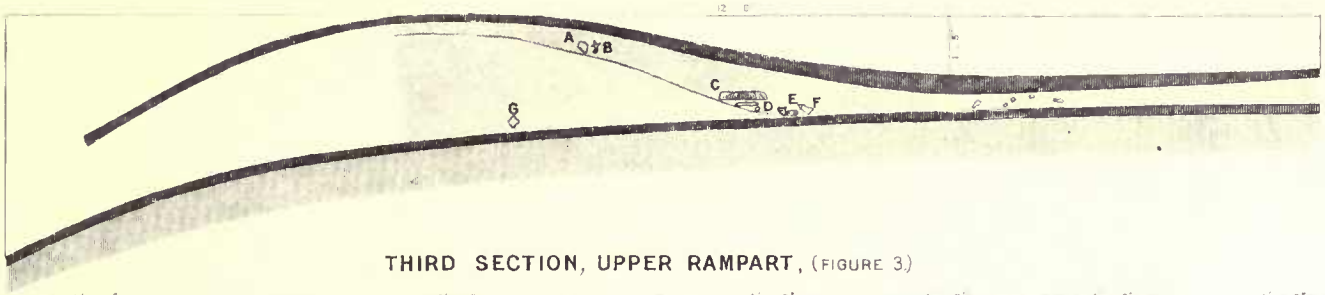
SILTING OF RAMPART.

BODY OF RAMPART.

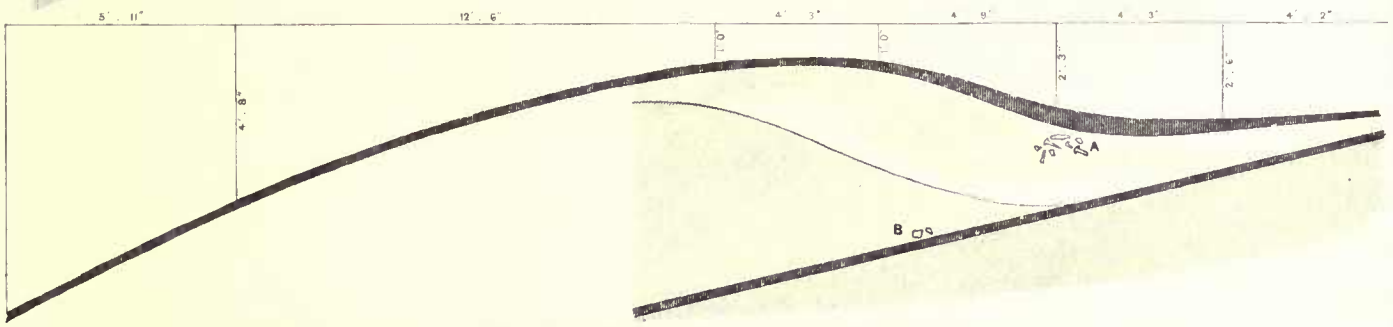
TURF & OLD SURFACE LINE

UNDISTURBED CHALK.

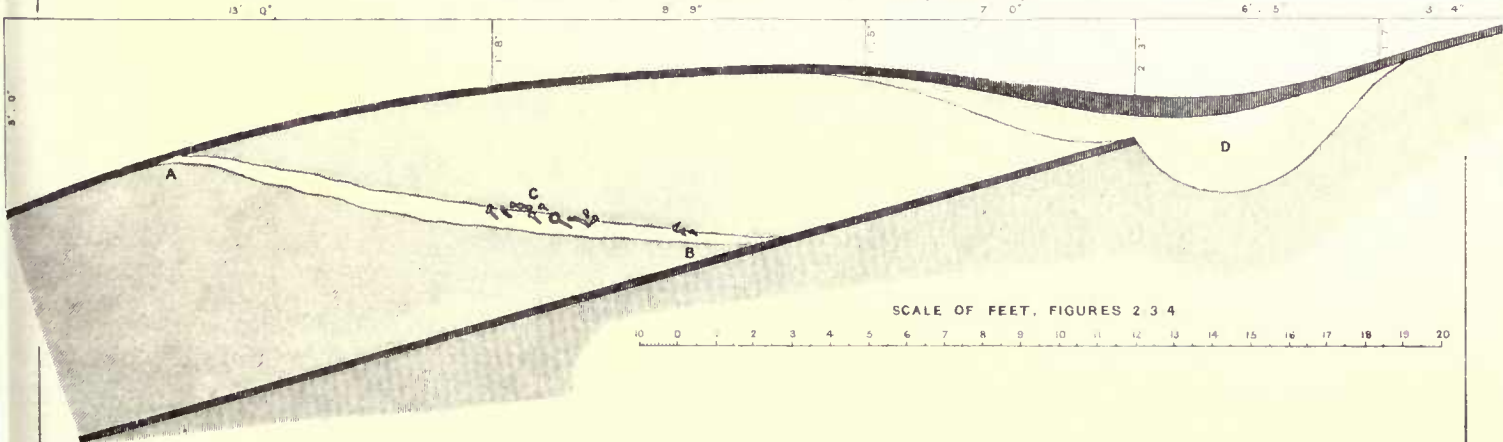
## SECOND SECTION, UPPER RAMPART WEST END. (FIGURE 2.)




## THIRD SECTION, UPPER RAMPART, (FIGURE 3.)




## FIRST SECTION, OUTER RAMPART (FIGURE 4.)




C F Kell, Lith Castle St Holborn, London E.C.

Surveyed by M. Gen[l] Pitt Rivers

# SECTIONS OF CÆSAR'S CAMP OR CASTLE HILL, NEAR FOLKESTONE.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1882.*

## EXPLANATION OF PLATES.

### *Plate* XVI.—*Plan of Cæsar's Camp or Castle Hill.*

C. A. B. Line of section through Camp, *see* Plate XVII. fig. 1.
A. W. Y. X. Rampart of Citadel.
D. E. F. Outer Rampart.
G. H. Artificial escarpment.
I. K. Traverse or brattish.
J. Second section, Outer Rampart.
L. Communication between the two divisions of the outer camp.
M. Pit No. 2, 15 feet (4·572 m.) deep.
N. Pit No. 1, the Well, 84 feet (25·603 m.) excavated. Bottom not reached.
O. Third section in Outer Rampart.
P. Pit in outer camp. Bottom not reached.
R. Depressions examined.
S. Three holes examined.
T. U. Small bank outside the outer ditch.
V. Trenches cut to obtain relics in the interior of the Citadel.
W. First section, Upper Rampart.
X. Second section, west end, Upper Rampart, *see* Plate XVII. fig. 2.
Y. Third section, Upper Rampart, *see* Plate XVII. fig. 3.
Z. First section, Outer Rampart, *see* Plate XVII. fig. 4.
*a*. Excavations in the ditch of the Traverse.
*b*. Excavations in the ditch of the Upper Rampart, south side.
*c*, *d*, *e*. Natural Chalk Escarpment.
*f*, *g*. Line of section of Traverse, *see* Plate XVII. fig. 5.

### *Plate* XVII.—*Sections.*

Fig. 1. Section through the Camp, on line C. A. B. of Plan, *see* also fig. 4:
A. Rampart of Citadel, south side.
B. Exterior of Camp, north side.
C. Natural Escarpment, south side.
D. Upper Rampart, first section.

L. Upper ditch.
E. Outer Rampart, first section, *see* fig. 4.
F. Outer ditch.
G. Bank outside outer ditch.
H. Ditch of Citadel, south side.
I. The Well.

Fig. 2. Second section, Upper Rampart, west end, *see* X. on Plan:

A. Head in armour carved in chalk; found 1 foot (0·306 m.) beneath the turf, 3 feet 6 inches (1·068 m.) behind the crest, June 27th, Plate XIX. figs. 21 and 22.
B. Fragment of iron padlock; found 1 foot (0·306 m.) beneath the turf, and 3 feet 6 inches (1·068 m.) behind the crest, June 27th, Plate XVIII. fig. 6.
C. Top stone of a quern; found in silting of interior slope in a horizontal position, the centre 1 foot 7 inches (0·483 m.) beneath the top, and 6 feet (1·829 m.) in from the foot of the interior slope, June 26th.
D. Blade of iron knife, Plate XVIII. fig. 7; found in silting of interior slope, close to quern.
E. Fragment of basin carved in chalk, with four Norman arches, Plate XIX. fig. 26; found 2 feet 2 inches (0·661 m.) deep, and 4 feet (1·219 m.) in from the foot of the slope, June 26th.
F. Pinnacle of chalk, Plate XIX. fig. 23; found 2 feet 2 inches (0·661 m.) deep in silting of the interior slope, June 26th.
G. Fragments of glazed pottery; found in the body of the rampart, 3 feet 3 inches (0·992 m.) beneath crest, on old surface line, mixed with unglazed pottery, June 27th.

Fig. 3. Third section, Upper Rampart, *see* Y on Plan:

A. Iron knife, Plate XVIII. fig. 8; a lozenge-shaped head of a clench-bolt, Plate XVIII. fig. 5; an iron knife, Plate XVIII. fig. 13; an iron T-shaped horse-shoe nail; found in silting of interior slope, June 29th.
B. A fragment of glazed pottery; found in the body of the rampart, 3 feet 10 inches, (1·169 m.) beneath the turf, and 6 feet (1·829 m.) to the rear of the crest, on the old surface line, June 29th.

Fig. 4. First section, Outer Rampart, *see* Z on Plan:

A. B. Seam of dark mould in body of rampart, commencing 14 feet (4268 m.) from foot of interior slope, and running up to beyond the crest.
C. Band of copper, gilt, ornamented with studs, Plate XIX. fig. 34; copper gilt heart-shaped objects, Plate XIX. figs. 29, 30, and 33; also two fragments of sinuous horse-shoes, Plate XVIII. figs. 16 and 17, with fifteen horse-shoe nails; found in seam of dark mould from 3 feet 10 inches (1·169 m.) beneath the crest to bottom of seam, June 12th.
D. A small ditch, at foot of interior slope.

Fig. 5. Section of Traverse on line *f*, *g*, of Plan.

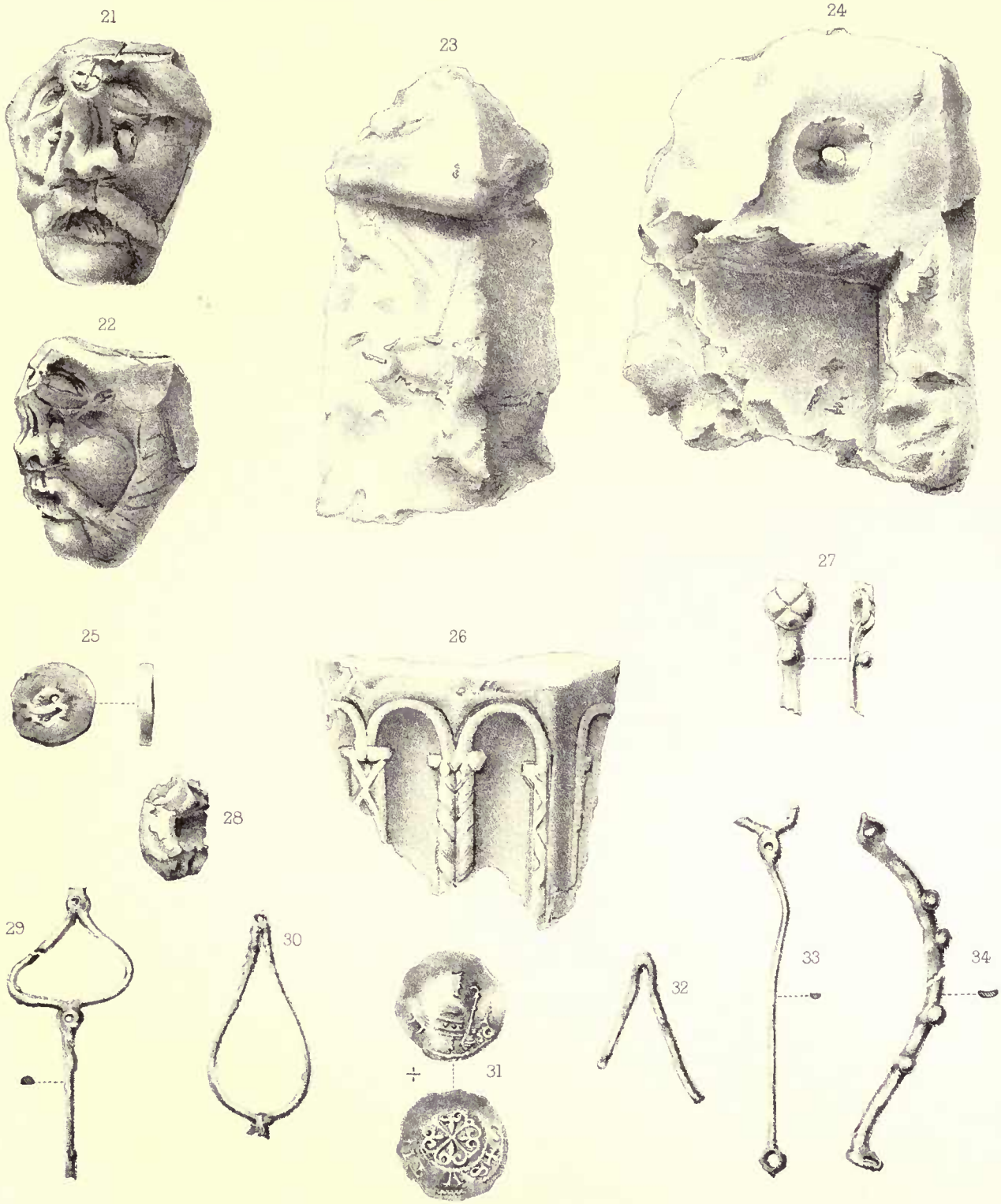



All Half Size.

C F Kell, Lith Castle St. Holborn, London. E.C

## OBJECTS OF IRON FOUND IN EXCAVATIONS IN CÆSAR'S CAMP OR CASTLE HILL, NEAR FOLKESTONE.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1882.*




All Half Size except Fig 31.

C F Kell Lith Castle St Holborn. E.C.

ANTIQUITIES IN STONE, COPPER, SILVER, AND LEAD FROM CÆSAR'S CAMP OR CASTLE HILL, NEAR FOLKESTONE.

## *Plate* XVIII.—*Objects of Iron found in Excavations at Cæsar's Camp.*

Fig. 1. Iron arrow-head; found in filling in Pit 2, June 14th.

Fig. 2. Fragment of sinuous horse-shoe with the nail in it, showing the calkings; found 13 feet 10 inches (4·218 m.) in Pit 2, July 5th.

Figs. 3 and 4. Lozenge-shaped bolt-heads; found in trenches in interior of Citadel, June 15th.

Fig. 5. Lozenge-shaped bolt-head; found in the interior slope of Upper Rampart, third section, June 29th.

Fig. 6. Fragment of padlock; found 1 foot (0·306 m.) beneath crest of Upper Rampart, west end, and 3 feet 6 inches (1·017 m.) to rear of crest, June 27th.

Fig. 7. Blade of iron knife; found 1 foot 10 inches (0·560 m.) beneath surface, and 6 feet (1·829 m.) to rear of crest in silting of interior slope of Upper Rampart, west end, June 26th.

Fig. 8. Iron knife; found 1 foot (0·306 m.) deep in interior slope of Upper Rampart, third section, June 29th.

Fig. 9. Buckle; found 15 feet 2 inches (4·624 m.) deep in Pit 2, July 5th.

Fig. 10. Loop of twisted iron; found 12 feet 6 inches (3·812 m.) deep in Pit 2, June 5th.

Fig. 11. Nail of horse-shoe; found 2 feet 10 inches (0·864 m.) beneath crest of Outer Rampart, June 10th.

Fig. 12. Tube of iron near the top of the Well, June 4th.

Fig. 13. Iron knife or spear-head; found 1 foot (0·306 m.) deep in interior slope of Upper Rampart, third section, June 29th.

Fig. 14. An iron nail of horse-shoe; found in body of Outer Rampart, June 10th.

Fig. 15. Clench-bolt, with lozenge-shaped heads; found in trenching the interior of Citadel, June 15th.

Figs. 16 and 17. Two fragments of sinuous horse-shoes, one with nail in the hole; found 3 feet 10 inches (1·169 m.) beneath crest in body of Outer Rampart, June 12.

Fig. 18. Iron horse-shoe nail, adhering by oxidation to a fragment of pottery of the quality returned in the sixth column of the Relic Table found 3 feet 10 inches (1·169 m.) beneath the crest in body of Outer Rampart, June 12th.

Fig. 19. Iron nail with flat head; found 19 feet (5·792 m.) deep in Well, June 6th.

Fig. 20. Iron wedge; found in one of the footholes in the Well at the depth of 59 feet (17·988 m.)

## *Plate* XIX.—*Antiquities in stone, copper, silver, and lead from Cæsar's Camp.*

Figs. 21 and 22. Head in armour, carved in chalk-stone; it has three crosses on the forehead, top and back; found 1 foot (0·306 m.) beneath the turf, and 3 feet 6 inches (1·017 m.) to the rear of the crest of the Upper Rampart, west-end section, June 27th.

Fig. 23. Pinnacle in chalk-stone; found 2 feet 2 inches (0·661 m.) deep, 8 feet (2·439 m.) to

rear of crest, and 4 feet (1·219 m.) from the foot of the interior slope of Upper Rampart, west-end, June 26th.

Fig. 24. Fragment of dish or mould, in chalk, with a hole bored from both sides; found in an oblong pit at the foot of the interior slope of Upper Rampart, June 8th.

Fig. 25. Disc of lead found in the oblong pit at foot of the interior slope, Upper Rampart, June 8th.

Fig. 26. Fragment of basin, font, or bénitoire, in chalk-stone, ornamented with four arches having the tracery of the twelfth century; found 2 feet 2 inches (0·661 m.) beneath the surface, 8 feet (2·439 m.) to rear of crest, and 4 feet (1·219 m.) in from foot of interior slope of Upper Rampart, west end, June 26th.

Fig. 27. Copper gilt object of unknown use, ornamented with a quatre-foil ornament and a stud, the latter similar to one found in body of Outer Rampart; found in trenches in the interior of Citadel, June 15th.

Fig. 28. Fragment of a spindle whorl; found in the interior slope of Upper Rampart, west end, June 26th.

Figs. 29 and 30. Copper gilt heart-shaped objects of unknown use; found 3 feet 10 inches (1·169 m.) beneath the surface, and 14 feet (4·268 m.) in from foot of interior slope, June 10th and 12th.

Fig. 31. A silver penny of Stephen, worn and much defaced, but quite distinguishable; found just beneath the turf, in trenches in the interior of the Citadel, June 15th.

Fig. 32. Copper gilt object, evidently a fragment of a piece resembling figs. 29 and 30; found 20 feet (6·098 m.) deep in excavating the Well, June 6th.

Fig. 33. Copper gilt object, evidently a fragment of a piece resembling figs. 29, 30, and 32; found in body of Outer Rampart, June 12th.

Fig. 34. Copper gilt band ornamented with four studs similar to the one on fig. 27, perhaps a fragment of horse furniture; found 3 feet 10 inches (1·169 m.) beneath crest, in body of Outer Rampart, June 12th.

---

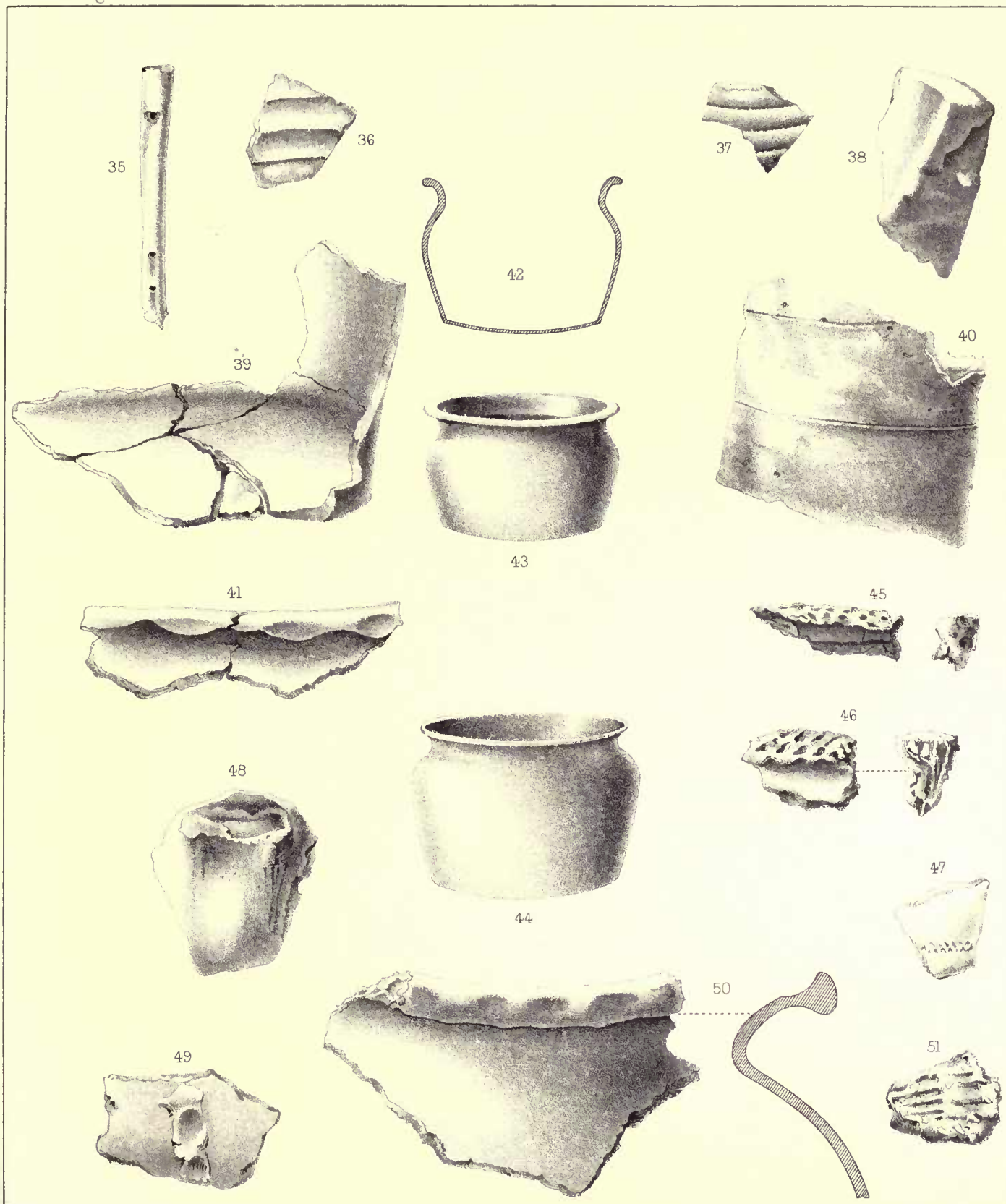
## *Plate* XX.—*Antiquities in Bone and Earthenware, from Cæsar's Camp.*

Fig. 35. Whistle made of the bone of some bird, with two finger holes; found 13 feet (3·964 m.) deep, in pit 2, June 5th.

Figs. 36 and 37. Fragments of glazed pottery; found in the body of the Upper Rampart, west end, June 27th.

Fig. 38. Piece of stone basin; found in the silting of the interior slope, Upper Rampart, west end, June 26th.

Fig. 39. Fragment of jar of green glazed earthenware of the quality returned in the fifth column of the Relic Table, but glazed; found in the interior slope of the Upper Rampart, west end, June 27th.




All Half Size except Figs. 42.43 & 44

C.F.Kell Lith Castle St. Holborn,E.C.

## ANTIQUITIES IN BONE AND EARTHENWARE FROM CÆSAR'S CAMP OR CASTLE HILL, NEAR FOLKESTONE.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1882.*

Fig. 40. Fragment of glazed earthenware, ornamented with two bands of incised lines; found in the body of the Upper Rampart, west end, in the position marked G, Plate XVII. fig. 2, June 27th.

Fig. 41. Fragment of rim of pot ornamented with the impress of the fingers, of the quality returned in the seventh column of the Relic Table; found in the trenches in the interior of the Citadel, June 26th.

Fig. 42. Section of the pot represented in fig. 43.

Fig. 43. Cooking pot of the quality returned in the seventh column of the Relic Table; found at a depth of 13 feet 10 inches (4·218 m.) in Pit 2; it has large grains of silex in its composition, and has been restored, June 5th.

Fig. 44. Cooking pot; found at the bottom of Pit 2. It is of the same quality as the last specimen, but a little larger. It has been restored. Close to it were found the entire bones of a fowl.

Fig. 45. Fragment of rim of coarse British pottery of the quality returned in the eighth column of the Relic Table; it is ornamented on the top with thick depressions in the form of a herring-bone pattern. Found in trenches of the interior of the Citadel, June 15th.

Fig. 46. Fragment of rim of British pottery with the same ornamentation, and of the same quality as the last; found 1 foot 6 inches (0·459 m.) beneath the surface, in the silting at the foot of the interior slope of the Upper Rampart, June 7th.

Fig. 47. Fragment of pottery of the quality returned in the sixth column of the Relic Table; red, and of sandy texture, ornamented with zigzag band; found in the silting of the interior slope of the Upper Rampart, third section, June 29th.

Fig. 48. Fragment of pottery of the quality returned in the sixth column of the Relic Table; red and sandy, but glazed; it shows the root of a handle which has been broken off. Found close to the fragment of a basin with Norman carving, in the silting of the interior slope of the Upper Rampart, west end, June 26th.

Fig. 49. Fragment of pottery of the quality returned in the sixth column of the Relic Table; red and sandy, but unglazed, and ornamented with a raised band notched with the impress of the fingers. Found in the silting of the interior slope of the Upper Rampart, west end, June 26th.

Fig. 50. Fragment of rim of pottery of the quality returned in the seventh column of the Relic Table, having large grains of quartz in its composition, but lathe-turned, ornamented with the impress of the fingers, and having a very projecting rim. Found on the old surface line, in the body of the Upper Rampart, first section, June 13th.

Fig. 51. Fragment of coarse British pottery of the quality returned in the eighth column of the Relic Table with ornamentation similar to figs. 45 and 46; found 19 feet (5·792 m.) deep, in the Well, June 6th.

# XXIV.—*On the Antiquity of the Egyptian Calendar.* *By* Francis Roubiliac Conder, Esq., C.E.

Read February 19, 1880.

The commemoration in the Egyptian Calendar of the rising of the Dog Star is a subject that has excited the curiosity of historians and antiquaries from the time of Sir Isaac Newton to the present day. One of the most learned of modern Egyptologists, Herr Brugsch, who has himself written a work on the Egyptian Calendar, has admitted, in his latest book, that this great secular problem is as yet unsolved.[a]

The writer who, according to Herr Brugsch, has most profoundly investigated the subject, is M. Biot. But since the date of M. Biot's labours the triglot decree of Canopus has been discovered.[b] This unquestionable authority gives a date for the Feast of Sothis, a comparison of which with other monumental inscriptions allows of the determination of the incidences of that festival for more than eight hundred years. The object of the following pages is to shew that the determination of the dates in question gives an unexpected indication of an antiquity, such as has hitherto been regarded as fabulous, for the origin of the Egyptian Calendar.

It is unnecessary here to do more than glance at the six principal modes of computing the year which have been in use among ancient and modern peoples.

The Greek astronomers used a sidereal year; in which the Calendar was divided into twelve signs and 360 degrees; the seasons were indicated by the rising of certain stars; and the positions of the equinoctial and solstitial points gradually changed.

In the monuments of Egypt references are found to four modes of computing the year. Of these, the most familiar to the student of history is the vague year, of 365 days, without intercalation. As this year is nearly six hours shorter than the true solar or equinoctial year, it constantly shifted the date of its com-

[a] *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, translated by H. D. Seymour and P. Smith, 1879, ii. 173.

[b] *Records of the Past*, viii. 81.

mencement with reference to the seasons. In 1504 equinoctial years the vague year thus made an entire revolution of the Zodiac; and this period of time contained 1505 Egyptian years.

The introduction of an intercalary day every fourth year, which was effected in the Roman Calendar by Augustus Cæsar, A.U.C. 745 (since which time it continued in use in Europe down to the reformation of the Calendar by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582), was anticipated by the Egyptians. It is considered by Egyptian scholars that this year, the *Annus Quadratus*, is denoted by the hieroglyphic ; while the *Annus Vagus* is denoted thus .

The true solar or equinoctial year must have been approximately known to ancient astronomers, as it is that which determines the seasons. Before the invention of the pendulum, the means of measuring time were very imperfect. The smallest unit of time used by the Chaldean astronomers was the scrupule of eighty seconds, which Ptolemy continually cites in the Almagest. But observations of the equinoxes and solstices were made by Hipparchus and other Greek astronomers. Nor can we conceive of the existence of any series of astronomical records, such as those which were kept at Babylon for 1903 years before its capture by Alexander the Great, without the determination of a true solar year.

The Gregorian year approaches so closely to the true solar year, that it may be conveniently used for tabulation. The Gregorian year consists of 365 days, with a 366th day every fourth year. Every hundredth year, again, the additional day is omitted, except on the fourth hundredth, which is bissextile. Again, every fourth thousandth year contains only 365 days.

A vague lunar year of twelve months is still in use among Mohammedans.

A lunar year, brought into accord with the seasons by intercalary months, was used by the Jews, and was also used by the Greeks for the determination of the Olympic festivals. The Jews depended on actual observation of the new moon for the commencement of the month; and had a special council to decide on an intercalation. The Greeks made use of the enneadekateris, or cycle of nineteen years, containing seven intercalary months, from the discovery of that cycle by Meton, B.C. 434.

The dates of the Egyptian vague year, which is that commonly used on the monuments, may be calculated with absolute precision from six observations of equinoctial and solstitial coincidences which are recorded by Ptolemy in the Almagest, in terms of the vague year. We are indebted to the same astronomer for the earliest observations determinative of the precession of the equinoxes, or the relation between the sidereal and solar years.

The triglot decree of Canopus is dated in the ninth year of Ptolemy III. It states that in that year the rise of Sothis was commemorated on the first day of the month Pauni. This coincided in the years B.C. 259—242 with 15 July equinoctial.

In the fifteenth year of Takelut II. according to an inscription on a *stela* at Karnac, the Feast of Sothis occurred on the first day of the month Tybi. The year in question is determined by an eclipse as being B.C. 851. In that year 1 Tybi fell on 15 July equinoctial.

In the Museum of Boulaq is a stone which was taken from the ruins of "a temple on the isle of Elephantina, erected and adorned by Thothmes III. and his successors down to the third Amen Hotep, in honour of the god of the country, Khnum."[a] The inscription on this stone mentions the occurrence of the Feast of Sothis on the twenty-eighth day of the month Epiphi. The twenty-eighth of Epiphi coincided with 15 July equinoctial in the years 1517—1514 B.C. The year 1511 B.C. is otherwise determined as the thirty-fifth year of Amen Hotep III.

It is thus evident that the Festival of the Rising of Sothis was a fixed feast, referred not to the sidereal but to the equinoctial year, and celebrated on the twenty-fourth day after the summer solstice. Thus regarded, it affords a cardinal datum for the determination of any dates fixed by the coincidence of the Festival with a given day of the vague year.

The question remains, what was the relation between the Festival of the Rising of Sothis, and the actual time in any given year when the Dog Star first became visible?

M. Biot states that Sirius becomes visible in the morning when at a distance of 11 degrees from the sun. At a distance of 18 degrees from the sun astronomers agree that twilight ends, and a star of any magnitude is visible. An old Greek calendar, which is reproduced by Scaliger in his great work *De Emendatione Temporum* (being drawn up in signs and degrees), gives a period of seven days between the first appearance of a star, and the date of its becoming wholly visible. We are thus justified in dating the heliacal rising of Sirius as not earlier than eleven days, or later than eighteen days, after his conjunction in right ascension with the sun. This, however, depends on the latitude of the point of observation, in the absence of determination of which we are confined to conjecture.

At the present time this conjunction occurs on 1 July. At the time of the

[a] *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, i. 395.

decree of Canopus, according to the rate of precession adopted by astronomers, the conjunction occurred on 1 June. Sirius, therefore, became visible at that time between the 12th and the 19th of June, or a month earlier than the date of the Festival.

It can hardly be doubted that when the Festival was first established it coincided with the heliacal rising of Sirius.

But the further we go back in history, from the date of the decree of Canopus, the earlier in the year occurred the rising of Sirius, and the greater is the interval between the phenomenon and the Festival which celebrated its occurrence.

To arrive at a coincidence between the first day of Thoth vague, the fifteenth day of July equinoctial, and the heliacal rising of Sirius (if such coincidence ever occurred), we must go back for nearly sixteen revolutions of the vague year, or to the year B.C. 23941. At that date, assuming the movement of the earth on its axis and in its orbit to have undergone no change, the first day of Thoth vague fell on the 15th of July, and the conjunction of Sirius with the Sun occurred on the 2nd of July, so that the visible rising of the star would have coincided with the celebration of the event.

It is not suggested that this coincidence affords an absolute proof that so extreme an antiquity attaches to the Egyptian calendar. But the threefold coincidence is very striking. No more recent date is consistent with the theory of an intelligible origin of the Festival, and of an unbroken reckoning from that time. There is no doubt that Egyptian civilisation had attained a very advanced stage by the date of the founding of Memphis. Physical observations as to the growth of the Delta of the Nile are in accord with the chronology that dates this event about 4500 B.C.[a] This is less than a third of the period now indicated. But the very slight change in Egyptian art from the time of the fifth to that of the eighteenth dynasty is such as to indicate an enormous lapse of time as required for its development before the earlier date. As far as Egyptian discovery has yet been carried, it points to the existence of a long past, before the transference of the seat of power from Abydos to Memphis. How far the astronomical considerations above set forth may throw light on the duration of a period that is as yet prehistoric it will be for historians to decide.

[a] *Edinburgh Review*, No. 297, p. 123.

# TABLE

SHEWING THE REVOLUTION OF THE VAGUE EGYPTIAN YEAR, AND THE DATES OF THE HELIACAL RISING OF SIRIUS, 13·5 DAYS AFTER CONJUNCTION WITH THE SUN.

| B.C. | | FEAST OF SOTHIS. | SIRIUS RISES visibly. | I THOTH. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 240 | Decree of CANOPUS | 15 July | 15 June | 17 Oct. |
| 851 | XV TAKELUT. | 15 July | 7 June | 15 Mar. |
| 1357 | | 15 July | 30 May | 15 July |
| 1517 | XXIX AMEN HOTEP III. | 15 July | | 22 Aug. |
| 2861 | | | 9 May | 15 July |
| 4369 | | | 18 April | 15 July |
| 5873 | | | 27 Mar. | 15 July |
| 7377 | | | 6 Mar. | 15 July |
| 8885 | | | 13 Feb. | 15 July |
| 10389 | | | 23 Jan. | 15 July |
| 11893 | | | 2 Jan. | 15 July |
| 13401 | | | 11 Oct. | 15 July |
| 14905 | | | 19 Nov. | 15 July |
| 16409 | | | 28 Oct. | 15 July |
| 17917 | | | 7 Oct. | 15 July |
| 19421 | | | 16 Sept. | 15 July |
| 20929 | | | 26 Aug. | 15 July |
| 22433 | | | 7 Aug. | 15 July |
| 23941 | | | 15 July | 15 July |

XXV.—*On a Wall-Painting discovered at Westminster Abbey in* 1882.—*In a Letter from* JOHN HENRY MIDDLETON, ESQ., M.A. F.S.A., *to Christopher Knight Watson, Esq., M.A., Secretary.*

Read February 9, 1882.

DEAR SIR,

A discovery was made this afternoon in part of the monastic buildings of Westminster Abbey, which appears to me to be of sufficient interest to be worth laying before the Society of Antiquaries.

The large upper room in the western range, once occupied by the cellarer, is now divided up into rooms for a Canon's residence. In the course of some repairs now going on the canvas lining in one of these rooms was stripped off: underneath, fine oak Jacobean paneling was discovered, and, under the paneling, the wall was found to be covered with well-designed painting of the time of Henry VIII. This painting is in black and white, done in tempera on plaster: the design, which is drawn with great boldness and freedom of execution, is strongly Holbeinesque in character.

There is an oval shield, charged with France and England quarterly, with lion and dragon supporters: at the side human figures growing out of flowing arabesque scroll-work, which covers the wall in large sweeping curves.

The design is white, with black outlines and shading on a black ground.

The discovery is an interesting one, as English wall-paintings of this date are very rare.

The preservation of these examples is due to the fact that oak paneling was fixed over them, before they had time to suffer from age or exposure.

It seems probable that this decoration was executed soon after the suppression

of the Abbey, and the seizure of the monastic buildings by the Crown; hence possibly the introduction of the Royal arms in so conspicuous a way.

The part of this painting which comes on the outer wall seems to have perished from damp.

A large part of the probably well-preserved painting on the inner wall still remains hidden, as it is only in one of the sub-divisions of the great hall that the wall-linings have been stripped off.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

J. HENRY MIDDLETON,
*4, Storey's Gate, Westminster.*

To C. Knight Watson, Sec. Soc. Ant.
*February* 8, 1882.

XXVI.—*On Two Bronze Fragments of an unknown object, portions of the Petrie Collection, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.* *By* Miss Margaret Stokes.

Read February 10, 1881.

It is now twenty-three years since Mr. John Mitchell Kemble, in an address delivered before the Royal Irish Academy, drew attention to a small bronze object of unknown use in the museum of Dr. Petrie in Dublin. I have to acknowledge with much regret that so long a time has been allowed to elapse, and yet no illustration or complete description of this object has yet appeared; and I beg to offer the Society my sincere thanks for the opportunity now afforded of submitting to your consideration such drawings and photographs as I have been able to obtain of this interesting relic.

On the occasion to which I have alluded, Mr. Kemble, speaking of a peculiar development of the double spiral line found in the ornamental designs of the Keltic populations of these islands, brought forward one of these objects as offering about the most perfect specimen of such design in existence. "There is," he said, "perhaps in all Europe, no more striking example than an implement of unknown use in the possession of our great archæological master, Dr. Petrie; for beauty of design and beauty of execution this may challenge comparison with any specimen of cast bronze work that it has ever been my fortune to see."

When thus remarking, Mr. Kemble did not seem to have been aware that Dr. Petrie had in his possession a portion of a similar object quite equal to this in beauty. They seem to belong to one another, and both appear to be fragments of some larger object or portions of a series of such. Again, he describes this as of "cast bronze," whereas it appears on close examination that the work must have been executed by some method besides casting. I shall now proceed to describe these fragments in detail, and then offer for your judgment a theory as to their use and intention which has slowly forced itself upon my mind, and

which if accepted may bear on the question of the date of such bronzes in Ireland.

Commencing with the more perfect of these two fragments (Pl. XXI. fig. 1 (*a*) ), we find it to consist of five separate pieces, fitted with delicate precision and fastened together by small rivets. 1st, a band or fillet of thin bronze plate; then, 2nd, a circular plate; 3rd, a cone or tongue springing upwards from the band. Besides these three principal portions there are two accessory objects—a stud and a shoe—which help to keep the whole together. In both cases (*a*, *b*) the bands are broken at either end, from which we may conclude that they formed part of a longer object. They measure $1\frac{3}{4}$in. in height, and are slightly curved, as if they had formed portions of a circular or oval ring; they are pierced at the upper and lower edges with small needle-holes, showing that some fine fabric was stitched to them by a delicate thread. The round plates are furnished with two little pegs or feet at the back, by which they were fixed into the hollow at the base of the cone into which the shoe is inserted, which supports the circular plate in an upright position. The cone rests partly on the topmost edge of the band or fillet, and partly in the hollow of the stud fixed on the band. This cone, which measures $4\frac{1}{4}$in. in height by $3\frac{1}{2}$in. in circumference at its base, is somewhat like a horn or tongue, and the denticulated edge at its summit shows signs of wearing, as if some hard object had rested there such as a small crystal ball. The three principal parts, *i. e.*, the band, the circular plates, and the cone, are decorated by the spiral lines in relief to which Mr. Kemble drew our attention; but, instead of being as he declared "casting," it would appear as if the result were partly obtained by stamping, as a coin is stamped, and that then the lines were finished by hand. On examining the reverse of the plates we find that, although the delicate lines of the curves and spirals are not seen in intaglio, as they would be if the work were *repoussé*, yet the minute bosses on the surface are all clearly *repoussé*, being seen pressed out, or concave, on the back. Would this have been the case if the bronze plate were cast? Again, there are four parts of apparently the same ornament which might have all been cast from one mould, if casting were the method adopted; but it is clear that, if cast at all, there must have been four separate moulds, for in following each line of the curves and spirals a certain irregularity and difference is perceivable in every instance. This might occur if the less mechanical process of stamping and hand-work were adopted, since the stamp, being possibly formed of a less durable material than a mould, might require to be changed each time.

If not then the finest pieces of casting ever seen, yet, as specimens of design

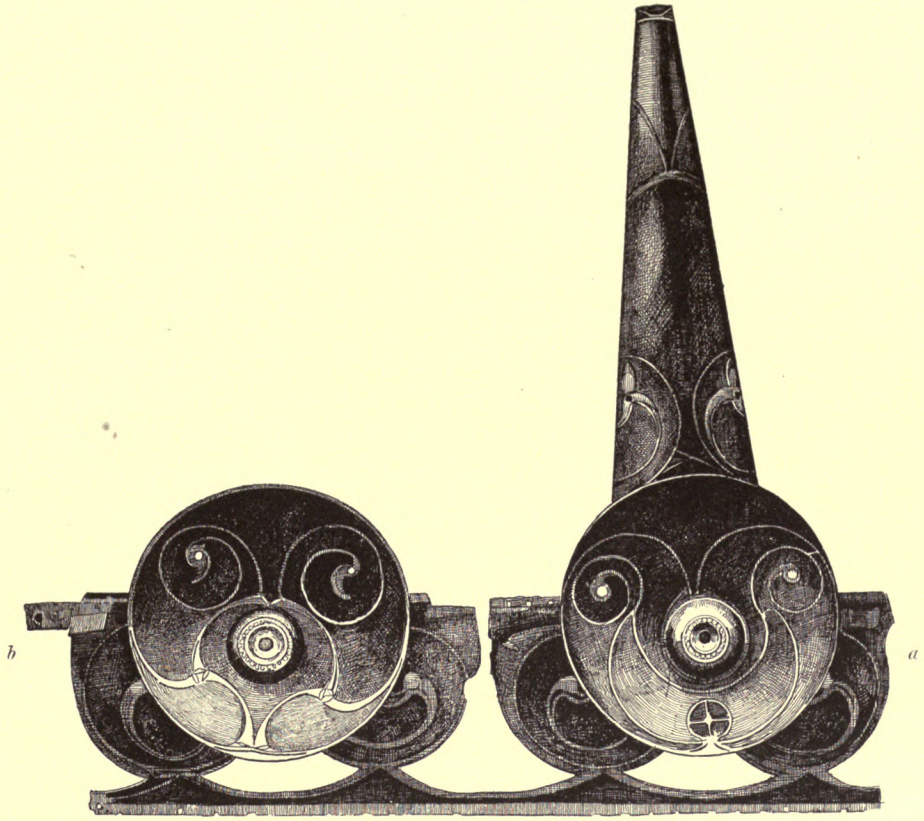



FIG. 1. TWO BRONZE FRAGMENTS, IN THE PETRIE COLLECTION.

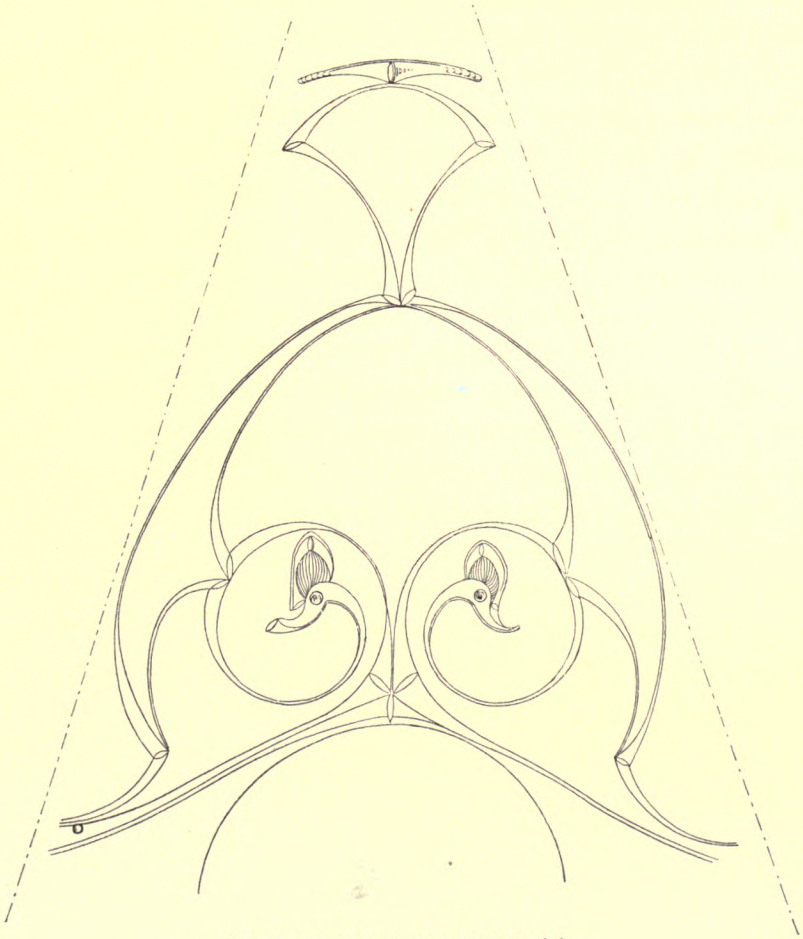
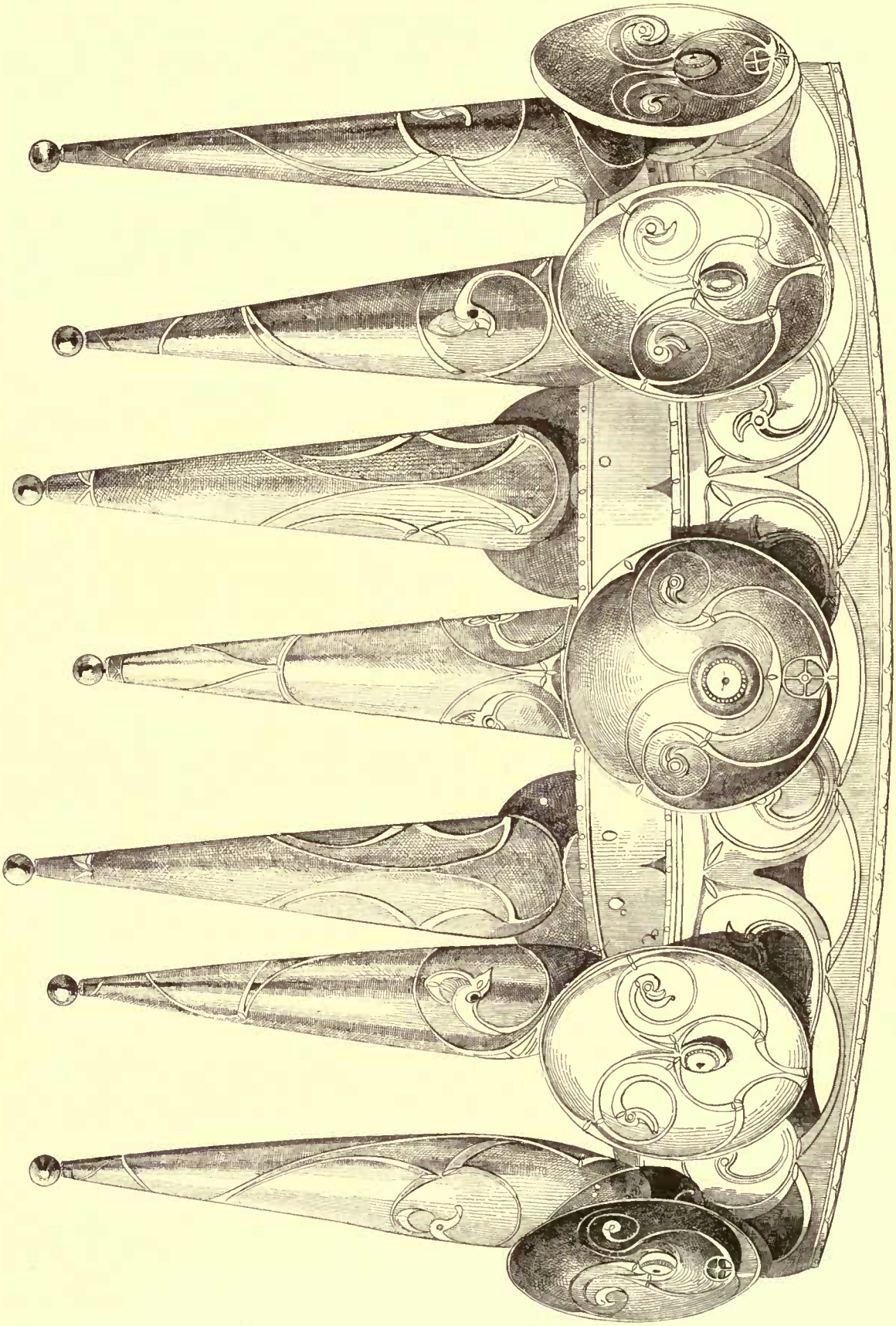


FIG. 2. ORNAMENT ON CONE OF (*a*).

FROM THE MUSEUM OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, DUBLIN.



RESTORATION OF AN IRISH RADIATED CROWN.

and workmanship, they are, perhaps, unsurpassed. The surface is here overspread with no vague lawlessness, but the ornament is treated with fine reserve, and the design carried out with the precision and delicacy of a master's touch. The ornament on the cone (Pl. XXI. fig. 2) flows round and upwards in lines gradual and harmonious as the curves in ocean surf, meeting and parting only to meet again in lovelier forms of flowing motion. In the centre of the circular plate below—just at the point or hollow, whence all these lines flow round and upwards, at the very heart as it might seem of the whole work—a crimson drop of clear enamel may be seen.

Having so far attempted to give a faithful description of these exquisite fragments, I may now ask you to consider the question as to the probable use of these ornaments. It has been suggested that they are portions of two such horns as are seen on an ancient British helmet in our National Museum in London. The extreme delicacy and fragile nature of these objects seem however to refute this theory—a theory most valuable at the same time as bearing out the idea of the true origin of such things—the horn or tongue of flame projecting from the head being one of the most ancient symbols of divine power in man which we possess. The horns on the British helmet are strong and massive, such as might be worn in battle, but I believe that the fragments now under consideration may be the remains of an Irish radiated crown, formed of seven horns or tongues, so arranged as to rise from a hand or fillet intended to encircle the head—it may be of an image or of a king—during some sacred festival.

Will you now permit me to offer you a restoration in painting (Pl. XXII.)[a] which may convey an imperfect idea of this ornament as I have conceived it when in its perfect condition? Were it once established that these fragments were portions of a radiated crown it would add materially to the interest with which we contemplate them. It is a curious fact that, however common are the representations of such an object in ancient art, yet no example of such has hitherto been found, nor can any antiquary whom I have consulted recall the existence of even a fragment of such a crown in any museum at home or abroad. Indeed the practical use or wearing of this *corona radiata* by men in any office is not clearly proved. It seems to have been reserved for ideal heads, and is only found in art—whether in clay or marble, bronze or fresco painting. This crown is evidently meant to symbolize light or pointed flame, a sensible and material expression of the imagery of the poet or rhetorician who spoke of light as issuing from divinely inspired heads. Thus Virgil paints King Latinus as he issues forth to

[a] A *coloured* drawing of this restoration was exhibited at the reading of this communication.

battle with Æneas (*Æneid*, lib. xii. l. 161); and Valerius Flaccus speaks of the starry brow of Castor from whence the thin blood was seen to flow.[a] Winckelmann has observed, speaking of the origin and probable significance of the radiated crown, "The first instance that occurs to me in the consideration of this *corona* was the notice of Lucian, who relates that the warriors of Ethiopia went to battle with arrows tied round their heads so as to stand upright like rays." The blanched white palm-leaf, such as is still prepared in Bordighera in Italy for use on Palm Sunday in St. Peter's at Rome, was used by the Spartans for a similar purpose, "fixed," says Winckelmann,[b] "so as to resemble rays;" and Apulcius (*Metamorph.* xi. [257] 801, ed. Oudendorf), when describing the costume of the initiated, says, "But I carried in my right hand a flaming torch, and had encircled my head with a graceful garland, the leaves of the shining palm projecting like rays."

It would appear that, at a later date, the radiated crown was an attribute of such leaders among men as came to have divine honours paid to them through the enthusiasm of their followers. We learn that such divine effulgence from the head as is symbolised by this crown is alluded to by Latin writers who lived at the commencement of the Christian era, and we know that after the time of Mark Antony and Octavianus the laurel wreath is superseded by the golden rays of Sol or Helios, the ruler of days.[c]

The deification of the Roman emperors succeeded to the adoration of the Roman governors which was practised in the East, where the magistrate was adored as a provincial deity, with the pomp of altars and temples, of festivals and sacrifices.[d] Then their images were adorned with rays, and Florus describing the honours paid to Cæsar by the Romans, says, "There by citizens who were not ungrateful, all possible honours were heaped upon the one prince; his images were in all the temples about, a crown of distinct rays in the theatre, a seat of honour raised in the senate-house, a pinnacle upon his house.[e]

Before leaving the subject of the history of this symbol in art, I hope it may not be deemed irrelevant if I allude to one point in connection with it which I have already brought forward elsewhere[f] at greater length than the limits of this paper will allow. It is my belief that the crown of thorns which formed part of the mock regalia given by the Roman governor to Christ with the purple robe

[a] *Argonaut.* lib. iv. l. 330. *Monum. Antic.* p. 59.

[c] Mr. Rapp, *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. iii. p. 237.

[d] Lucan, *Pharsalia*, lib. vii. v. 458. [e] *Epit. Rer. Rom.* IV. ii. § 91.

[f] *Art Readings at Alexandra College, Dublin*, No. 2.

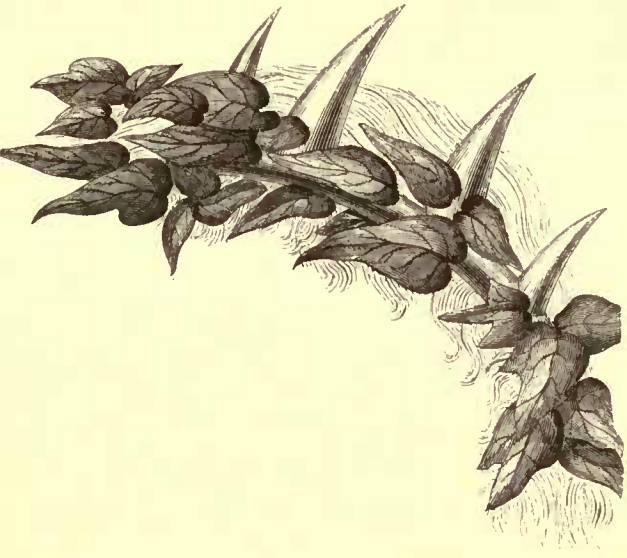


FIG. 1. CORONA RADIATA OF ROMAN EMPEROR.



FIG. 2. CORONA SPINÆ CHRISTI.




FIG. 3. "They smote him on the head with a reed."—*St. Mark* xv. 19.

FROM THE CATACOMB OF PRÆTEXTATUS.

was a parody of the radiated crown worn by the Roman Emperors when they arrogated to themselves divinity. (Pl. XXIII. figs. 1, 2.) The monks of Jerusalem show, or lately did show, an aged thorn tree near the holy city from which they say the crown was originally cut in such a manner that in wearing it the thorns appeared so as to present the likeness of the radiated crown with which the kings of the East were accustomed to be adorned. In fact I am led to believe that the crown of thorns was (not as mediaeval Christian art would lead us to conclude) so much an instrument of *physical* as of *moral* suffering, since, in the mimic radiated crown he placed upon the sacred head, Herod parodied the ancient symbol of in-dwelling divinity and spiritual kingship, and placed his parody upon the only human brow that could by right inherit it.

The first representation of Christ crowned with thorns that we know of is, I believe, that which occurs on the painted chamber in the catacomb of Prætextatus on the Appian Way. (Pl. XXIII. fig. 3.)[a] It is an illustration of the words, "They struck his head with a reed." The treatment of the subject is so utterly unlike that to which we are accustomed in art of the German or later Italian schools, that it is not surprising to learn that it has been mistaken for the Baptism of Christ. However, the crown projecting from the head like rays at once silences all questionings as to the real nature of the subject.

We have here a spiked and thorny wreath, which is a parody of the rays of the Sun-God, and at the Saviour's right side two men, who prepare to strike His head with their reeds, while to His left is a leafless winter tree on which the dove —the Christian symbol of the spiritual power they mocked—has just descended.

I hope that I may plead the interest of such points in connexion with the history of this symbol as excuse for the introduction of what to some may appear irrelevant matter.

We may now return to the subject of these bronze fragments found in Ireland, which I presume to have formed part of such a crown as is here represented—and the last question left for our consideration is as to its probable date.

As upon this point we cannot be said to *know* anything, I hope I may be permitted to put the following observations in the form of questions.

Is the fact that this ornament is decorated with the earliest form of the divergent spiral or trumpet-pattern a sufficient argument to lead us to assign it

[a] It has been illustrated by M. Perret (*Catacombes de Rome*, vol. 1, pl. lxxx.) and by Garrucci (*Storia della Arte Cristiana*, vol. 1, tavv. xxxviii. xxxix.), who had access to the original drawings made for Father Marchi in 1850, and exhibited in the Lateran Museum. See Northcote and Brownlow, *Roma Sotterranea* (1869), pp. 144, 146, 147, pt. 2nd.

to the same period as the late Celtic and pre-Roman works of Britain, *i. e.*, between 200 years before the birth of Christ, and A.D. 200?

Does the fact that it is of yellow bronze—with enamel sparingly introduced—point to the earliest of these dates, *i. e.*, B.C. 200, or rather to the later, that is A.D. 200?

Does the fact that this is not cast work, but that stamps were employed for impressing these thin bronze plates, and that the design must have been carefully worked up by hand, indicate the later period for the execution of this ornament?

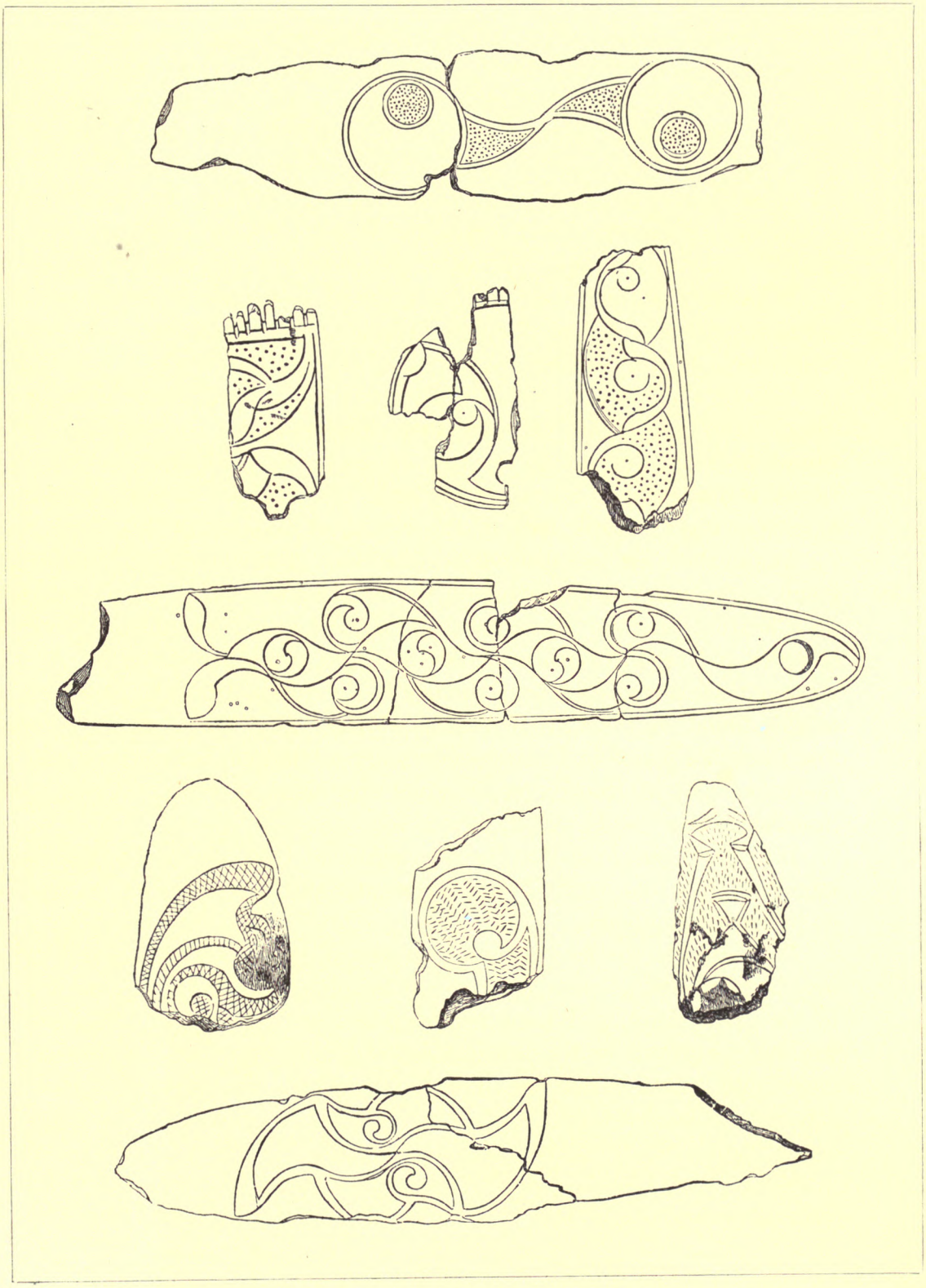
With reference to the first of these questions it must be remembered that the trumpet-pattern or divergent spiral design lingered much longer in Ireland than elsewhere, and works in metal marked by this may belong to a period bordering on that of the introduction of Christianity in Ireland, *i. e.*, the third century. There is no connection between such decorative art as this and that of the tumuli-builders, yet we do see this design in an early and tentative form on carved bones found at Slieve na Calliaghe (Pl. XXIV.), as well as upon the sides of a stone cist at Clover Hill, in the county of Sligo. (Pl. XXV. figs. 1, 3.)

Again, there are two distinct modifications of this design found on the monuments of Ireland, one appearing on the bronze and gold ornaments of apparently pre-Christian art, the other on decidedly Christian monuments down to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and there are two pillar stones in Kerry whence we may trace a transition from the one to the other—from the pre-Christian form to that found in the Christian MSS. shrines, &c. These stones belong to the first Christian period in Ireland—one bears a bilingual inscription—half Ogham, the other half in Roman letters gives the name of "Finten"; the second is inscribed "Dñe." (Pl. XXV. figs. 2, 4.)

It would seem to me that the decoration on these stones was manifestly of a later date than that on the Petrie fragment, and that the design has lost much of its primitive simplicity.

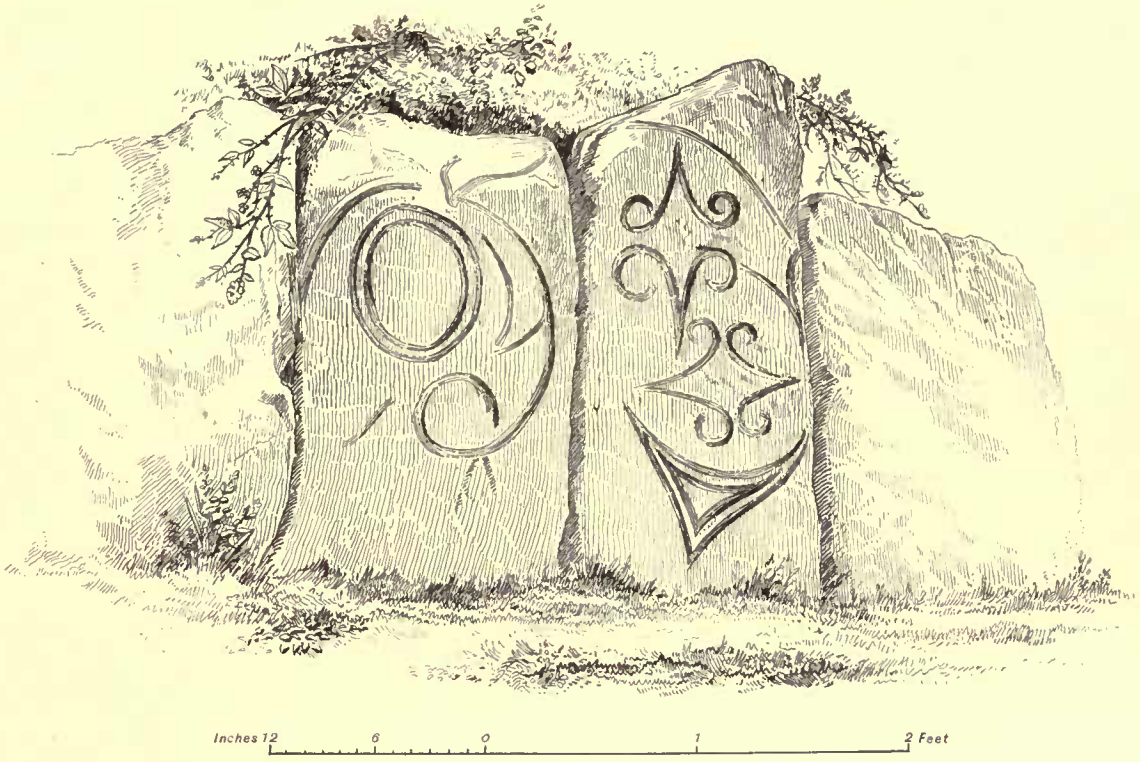
With respect to the next question regarding the working of the material, I may be permitted to quote from a late writer on the bronze age, when, referring to the inhabitants of Europe north of the Alps, he says, "The art of metal working, as proved by the remains associated together in the various places of manufacture, was carried to a high pitch of perfection. Most of the bronzes were cast and the moulds carefully designed; the metal was also tempered by hammering, or engraved with various elaborate patterns, or adorned with *repoussé* work."

*Stamps were also employed for impressing thin plates of metal. In all probability the art of casting preceded the tempering, stamping, and engraving; but on*



BONE CARVINGS FOUND AT SLIEVE NA CALLIAGHE.

FIG. 1.




FIGS. 1 and 3, AT CLOVER HILL, CARROWMORE, CO. SLIGO.

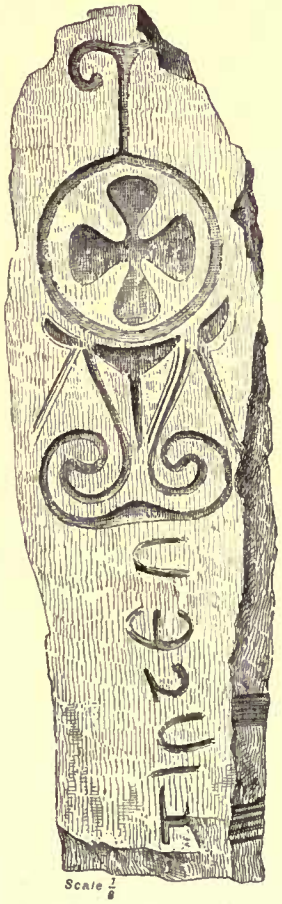



FIG. 2. FROM CO. KERRY.

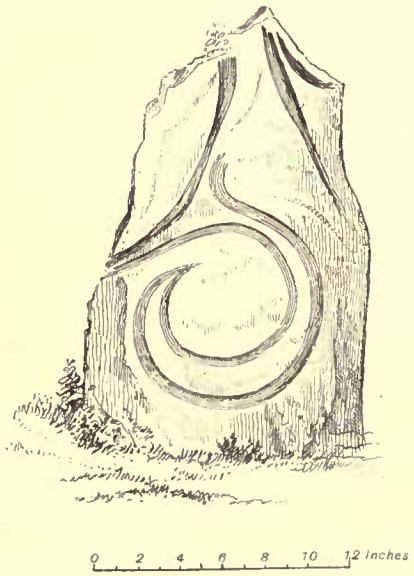



FIG 3.




FIG. 4. FROM CO. KERRY.

*the evidence before us there is nothing to show that the first was derived from a different source to, or known in Gaul before, the others.*

In these fragments under our consideration we find—

1st. A complete mastery over the arts of tempering, stamping, and engraving.

2nd. Exquisite skill in design and execution.

3rd. The design is a variety of a certain design found in three stages of development on the monuments of Ireland. This, belonging to the second and most perfect stage, corresponds with that upon the bronze discs found at Monastereven, and the spoon-shaped relics found in a bog in Ireland, which corresponds to those described by Mr. Albert Way (*Arch. Journ.* xxvi. 52; *Arch. Camb.* 4th ser. i. 199), a variety coming between the primitive form seen on the stone and bone relics above mentioned and the more complex form occurring on Christian monuments.

4th. These fragments are presumed to have been portions of a radiated crown —a form of crown which is first represented on the coins minted in Gaul and Britain in the years A.D. 260, 287, and 293, *i.e.*, a century before the introduction of Christianity into Ireland.

The early legends of Ireland describe crowns as part of the kingly regalia; and these references point to various forms of crown as being in use. In the description of Cormac, grandson of Conn of the hundred battles, and the assemblies held in Ireland during his time, the chronicler says that each king who attended was attired in a kingly robe, and his golden helmet on his head; "for they never put their kingly diadem on but in the field of battle only."

The golden helmet is virtually our crown. The Irish *minn* (mind) may be the golden frontlet or crescent seen in our museums. In the vision of Adamnan we read: "a vast arch, furthermore, above the head of the dignified one in his royal chair, like an adorned helmet or a king's minn." It would seem that this word *minn* in Irish signified diadem, and at the same time that something more than a mere band or ribbon was understood in this term by the early Irish writers. In a fragment of a commentary on the Gospel of St. Mark, preserved in the University at Turin, we read: "By the thorny crown upon His head we have obtained the diadem of a kingdom." Here the word in the original, which is *diadema*, is translated in the gloss of the Irish scribe, *minn*, but to make the antithesis complete the diadem before the mind's eye of the writer should have been an object with spikes bearing some resemblance to the crown of thorns.

I feel tempted by all these concurrent testimonies drawn from the study of various monuments and relics in Ireland, and from the evidence, if such it

may be called, of the early legendary history of the country, to assign these fragments to a period immediately preceding the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, to the time which forms the culminating point of Irish heroic story, of Ossianic legend, where constant allusion is made to a certain splendour in dress and arms—the period of the great fort builders—of Aenghus and Conor—and other heroes with whose worth the labours of Sir Samuel Ferguson have made us now familiar.

XXVII.—*On a Latin Note to the Bodleian MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle concerning the Origin of the Æra Dionysiana. In a Letter from* Robert Cradock Nichols, *Esq., F.S.A., to Augustus Wollaston Franks, Esq., Director.*

Read June 17, 1880.

March 19, 1880.

My dear Sir,

In a note to the communication of Dr. Gustav Oppert, on the Origin of the Æra Dionysiana (*Archaeologia*, vol. xliv. p. 347), you paid me the compliment of mentioning a suggestion I had made for the correction of the Latin note to the year A.D. 625, which is found in the MS. of the Saxon Chronicle in the Bodleian MS. Laud, 636, and which, as it stands, is, as you observed, unintelligible. It runs thus: "Hic Cyclus Dionysii quinque decennovenalibus constans, hoc est, xcv. annis: sumitque exordium a xxx. anno Incarnationis Domini, et desinit in dcxxvi. anno."[a]

Dr. Oppert stated in his text that the 30th year of our Lord's Incarnation would be the 31st of the æra of Dionysius. Adding 95 to 31 we get 126, and my suggestion was that dcxxvi. was an error for cxxvi.

This, however, is easily seen to be not the case. The note is appended to the year 625, and cannot refer to 125 or 126. And no cycle even of 19 years, according to the Dionysian reckoning, began from either A.D. 30 or 31 or ended in 125 or 126. Moreover, Dr. Oppert is wrong in stating that the year of the Incarnation, 30, would be the 31st of the æra. It is of course the 30th, but is the 31st of the great period of 532 years which preceded the cycle of Dionysius; and here Dr. Oppert seems to have fallen into a confusion, which, even supposing the reading xxx. to be correct, materially affects the main prop of his argument as to the method in which he supposes Dionysius to have determined the year of the Birth of Christ, and so fixed his æra. And, if the cycle of 95 years had begun from the 30th year of the Incarnation, it would end in the 125th year.

Dr. Ingram has a note upon the passage in question, in which he says, "The following explanation of this semi-barbarous passage appears absolutely necessary. Here ends the *sixth* cycle of Dionysius. The cycle consists of five nineteens; that is, ninety-five years; and commences its computation from the

[a] *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* Ed. in M. R. Ser. 1861, vol. i. p. 42.

thirtieth year of the Incarnation of our Lord. The *sixth* cycle therefore ends in the year 625." (Ingram, *Sax. Chron.* p. 32.)

But six times 95 is 570, which added to 30 makes 600 and not 625.

I had thought it possible that the MS. might, if carefully examined, resolve the difficulty. But I am informed by the Librarian of the Bodleian, who has most obligingly examined it at my request, that it has been accurately transcribed. He further informs me that the Latin note is in the same hand with the rest of the text, which Professor Earle seems to think written circ. 1125. As the note is not found in any other MS. we have no other resource than conjecture to guide us to its correction.

Now, Dr. Oppert correctly states that "the last year of the Cyrillian canon was ANNUS DIOCL. CCXXXXVII. . . . . Immediately to this year Dionysius added the first of his cycle, which, instead of calling it the 248th of Diocletian, he named ANNUS DOMINI DXXXII."[a]

The cycle of Dionysius therefore actually begins from the 531st year of the Incarnation.

Matthew of Westminster has a paragraph which in the form of expression corresponds singularly with the passage under consideration. He says, "Anno gratiæ 532 abbas Dionysius cyclum suum orditur, cyclorum quinque decennovenalium."[b] This is precisely what the note to the *Saxon Chronicle* would say if we were to put DXXXI. for XXX., and agrees with the statement I have quoted above from Dr. Oppert.

There can, then, be no doubt that we should read DXXXI. for XXX., and thus make the statement consistent with itself and with the fact that the cycle of Dionysius began from the year 531 and ended in 626.

It follows, however, that, if this reading be accepted, the confirmation, which Dr. Oppert derives from the mention of the year 30 (identifying it, transformed to 31, with the year of the Passion), for his theory of the origin of the Dionysian Æra falls to the ground. If Dionysius had been the first to take the year 1 of his æra for the year of the Incarnation it would be by no means improbable that he had obtained it in the manner suggested by Dr. Oppert. But when we find that in this assumption he only followed the earlier chronology of Panodorus and Victorius, there is no necessity to suppose that he arrived independently at the same result.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

R. C. NICHOLS.

A. W. Franks, Esq., Dir. S.A.

[a] P. 346.

[b] Ed. Frankf. 1601, p. 99.

XXVIII.—*On an unexplained Figure in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. In a Letter from* John Thomas Micklethwaite, *Esq., F.S.A., to Henry Salusbury Milman, Esq., Director.*

Read January 18, 1883.

January 17, 1883.

Dear Mr. Director,

When some time ago I was describing the figures in Henry the Seventh's Chapel to the Society, there was one which I was unable to explain, but which had so many distinguishing marks that I suggested that it must be the image of All Hallows which the people of South Cave, in Yorkshire, wanted in 1495. The suggestion was not then made seriously, and was not printed with the description.[a] I now, however, venture to repeat it, with a few remarks intended to show that this may after all be the true explanation of the figure.

The passage connecting the parish of South Cave with the image of All Hallows is in the Minutes of an Archdeacon's Visitation, printed in the Surtees Society's *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 261. The parishioners present that "there wantts the ymage of All Halowes, our hed halow, to whom it longes we know not, praying your lordship to set the seid image to some of us, owder to the person or the vicar, or the pariche." If this had come a generation later we might have taken it for a "shrewd privy nip" of some new gospeller. But in 1495 the presentation must have been made in good faith, and we are forced to believe either that the men of South Cave were remarkably ignorant, or that there did then exist images called of All Hallows. I have hitherto held the former opinion, but find now that I owe these good folk an apology, for our Fellow, the Rev. J. T. Fowler, has called my attention to a passage in Mr. Peacock's *Church Furniture*, p. 45, which leaves no doubt at all that the latter is true. In answer to inquiries about "monuments of superstition" in Elizabeth's time, the churchwardens of Belton, in the Isle of Axholme, mention "an Idoll of All Halowes, cut in pices by Mr. Willm ffearnes a year past." And I have lately

[a] *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii. p. 361.

found a third example, rather earlier than that from South Cave, in the will of William Holme, vicar of Mattersey, Notts, printed in the Surtees Society's *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. ii. p. 279. This William, in 1466, makes a bequest *ad picturam ymaginis Omnium Sanctorum ex parte sinistra summi altaris situatae.*

These three passages prove beyond doubt that a figure which in some conventional way stood as a representative of All Hallows did formerly exist, and that which relates to South Cave refers to what was almost certainly the cause of its invention. There was a strict rule that the image of the patron saint or "head hallow" of each church should be placed in the chancel, and in the many churches dedicated to All Saints there would be a question how the rule should be obeyed. It is very likely that there were several ways of doing it, but one of them was to put up an actual image, and call it that of All Hallows.

Now let us see what reason there may be for believing that we have this image in the very curious figure which occurs twice at Westminster. The image of All Hallows must of necessity have been a symbolical figure, and, as the Hallows whom it was intended to honour have been drawn from all sorts and conditions of men, there is nothing more likely than that there should be an attempt to combine in the figure itself the characteristics of as many of them as possible.

Now, our images here represent a bearded man in armour ;[a] over the armour are the Mass vestments, and over them again the monastic hood and scapular; with the right hand he holds the end of a stole, the other end of which is tied round the neck of a dragon at his feet, and in the larger example the left hand holds a closed book,—a truly remarkable combination, which, I think, may possibly be explained thus: The armour and the scapular, besides representing the military class and the monks, set forth in a wider sense the active and the contemplative life; the Mass vestments seem to represent the clergy of all orders; the book, doctors, and men of learning generally; and the beard is, I believe, put to include the agricultural class. Each state of life has added its contingent to the great army of the saints, every one of whom has overcome sin—the dragon —by the spiritual power here indicated by the stole.

I put forward this interpretation with some diffidence, but I think there is

[a] I have formerly described the figure as having gauntlets on the hands only, but a close examination of a cast of the smaller image leaves no doubt that it was intended to represent the whole body in armour. See the drawing, *Archaeologia*, vol. xlvii. plate xii.

not anything in it which is over-fanciful, or out of keeping with the ideas of the time when the images of All Hallows were set up. And I will only add that this attribution of the Westminster figures receives some little confirmation from the position of the smaller one, which occupies the last place of all in the series of the saints, just as the feast of All Saints comes as a sort of &c. at the end of the Church's calendar.

I am, dear Mr. Director,

Yours very faithfully,

J. T. Micklethwaite.

# APPENDIX.

# APPENDIX.

*Further Note on the Wall-Paintings discovered in the Cellarer's buildings at Westminster Abbey in February*, 1882. *In a letter from* JOHN HENRY MIDDLETON, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A., to Henry Salusbury Milman, Esq., M.A., Director.*

*May* 10, 1883.

DEAR MR. DIRECTOR,

It may be in the recollection of the Society that the discovery of a Wall-Painting in tempera at Westminster Abbey, on the 8th of February, 1882, was noticed by me in a letter addressed on the same day to our Secretary, Mr. Knight Watson, which letter was read at our next following meeting, and is printed in this volume, p. 471. The description of the painting then given was necessarily somewhat hasty, and of course could not from want of time be accompanied by proper figures in illustration.

Soon afterwards I had the opportunity of examining at leisure not only the painting noticed in my letter, but also another which was subsequently discovered in the same room. This latter painting, also in tempera, and of the same character as the former, appeared to me equally worthy of the attention of the Society.

The place of the discovery was a large hall, in the great western range of buildings once occupied by the Cellarer, running north and south over a ground-floor set of rooms vaulted in stone. At the time of the suppression of the Monastery the upper hall was divided off into smaller rooms by wood and plaster partitions. In one of these rooms, under fine oak Jacobean paneling, which again had been covered by canvas, were found the paintings in question; which are fine specimens of their period, that of Henry VIII.

On the east side of the room, a solid stone wall covered with plaster, is the design which I described by letter and am now enabled to show in figure. (Pl. XXVI.)

The wooden partition, now forming the south wall of the room, consists of stout oak studs, arranged vertically, about fourteen inches apart in the clear. They are covered at the back with interlaced wattle-work to carry the plaster, which fills up the spaces between the oak uprights. Thus long and narrow panels are formed, on which arabesques are painted (Pl. XXVII.); the design is rather cramped from the awkwardness of the space which had to be filled. The oak studs are painted white.

Both these paintings are executed in the same manner, with black outlines and hatched shading on a black ground. The whole surface of the plaster was first painted white, and then the black outlines and back-ground were laid on. The accompanying plates have been kindly supplied by our Fellow, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite.

The painting is executed with but little size, so that the pigment is easily brushed off, a method of decoration to which Shakespeare gives the graphic name of "water-work."

---

Henry IV. Part II. Act 2, Sc. 1.

*Hostess:* By this heavenly ground I tread on, I must be fain to pawn both my plate and the tapestry of my dining chambers.

*Falstaff:* Glasses, glasses, is the only drinking; and for thy walls, a pretty slight drollery, or the story of the Prodigal, or the German hunting in *water-work*, is worth a thousand of these bed-hangings and these fly-bitten tapestries.

---

I am, dear Mr. Director,

Yours faithfully,

J. Henry Middleton.

To H. S. Milman, Dir. Soc. Ant.

---

# NOTE.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November, 1833, vol. ciii. p. ii. p. 393, is a letter from Alfred John Kempe, Esq., Fellow of this Society, describing the remains of a series of twelve paintings, in "water work," which decorated the walls of a gallery in Grove House, Woodford, Essex, when that house was demolished in 1832. The description is accompanied by copper-plate engravings of the house, of the gallery, and of one of the paintings, which bore the date 1617. All the twelve appear to have represented scenes of rural life. So decidedly German are the designs, that they may well illustrate the allusion of Shakespeare, and be attributed to the School which produced in the previous century these Westminster paintings, classed by Mr. Middleton in his first letter as "Holbeinesque."

H. S. M.

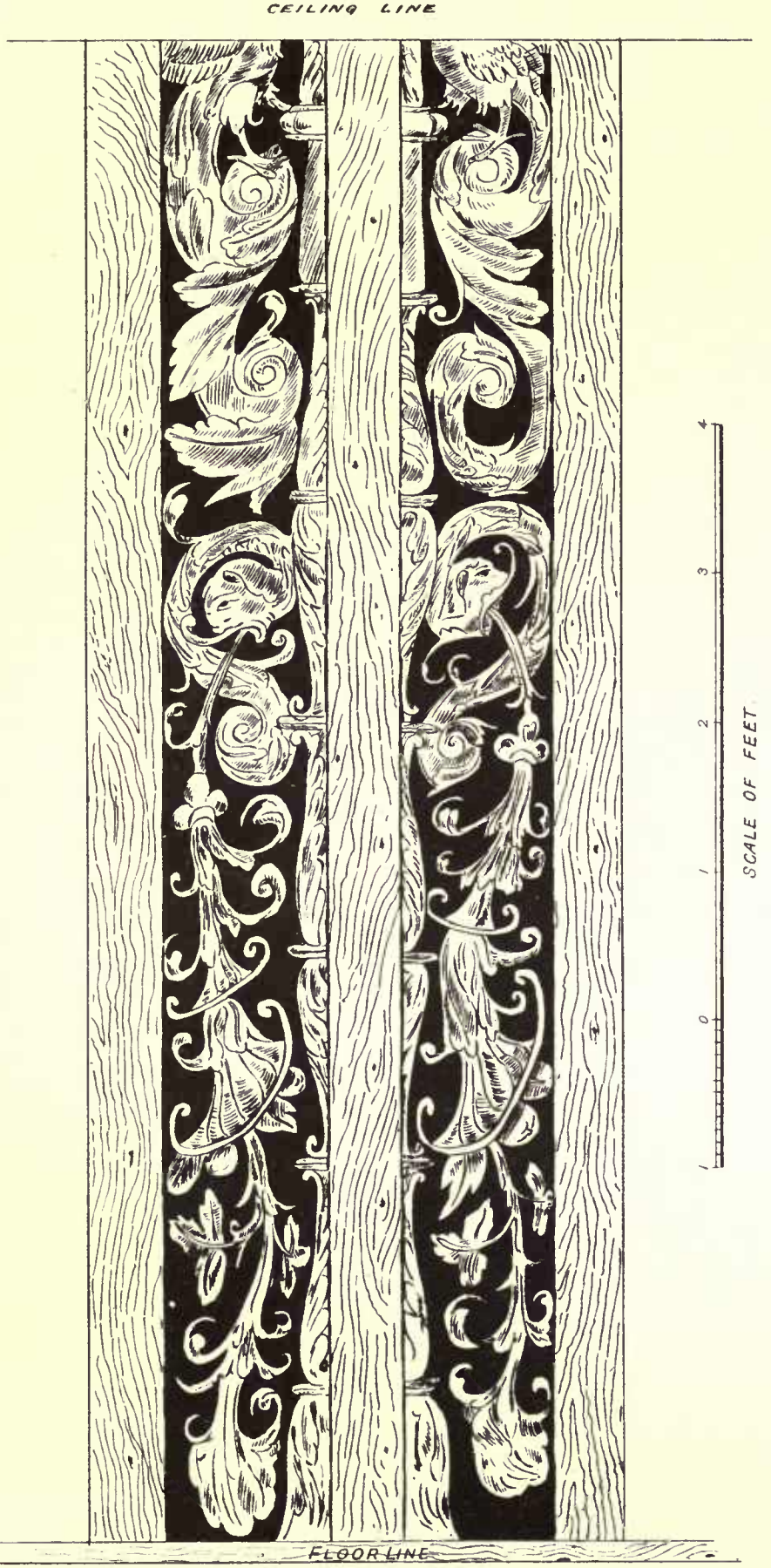



PAINTING ON PLASTERED WALL, EAST SIDE OF UPPER ROOM IN CANON BARRY'S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER.



Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1883

W. Kell Photo-Litho. Castle St Holborn, London, E.C.




PAINTING ON PLASTER BETWEEN OAK STUDS ON SOUTH SIDE OF UPPER ROOM IN CANON BARRY'S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1883.*

# INDEX.


A.

Aargau, canton of, Switzerland, grave-mounds in, 131-136

"Abacot," corruption of bycocket, 279

Abbey Churches, Malmesbury, 168; Romsey, 168

Accounts of colony of Bermuda, 80; of money received from the Treasurer of the King's Chamber *temp.* Henry VIII. 295-336

Achard, surname of tenant in Caudewell, 117

Acres, measures of land in Rothley manor, 91, 98

Acts of Parliament, authentication of, 79; printing of, 424

Adel Church, Yorkshire, descent from the Cross represented in, 169; representation of Agnus Dei at, 170; sculptured figures at, 177

Adoration of Cross, symbolization of, 167-169

Agnel d'or, coin of Edward III. origin of, 141

Agnus Dei, representations of symbolical form of, 169-171

Agricultural class represented in All Hallows figure by the beard, 484

Agriculture, open field, in Rothley manor, 91-92

——— zodiacal signs not derived from, 345

Akkadian zodiacal signs, 346, 347, 348

Alan of Brittany, lord of Richmond (Yorks), 180

—— Danby Wiske Church built by, 176

Albany (Duke of), Protector of Scotland (1515), 300-301

Aldborough (William de), seal of, 185

Alecott (Philip de), manor of Rothley assigned to, 94

Alienation of land, limitation to, in Rothley soke, 97

All Hallows, figures of, at Belton, 483; at Mattersey, 484; South Cave, 483; Westminster Abbey, 483-485

Almack (Richard, F.S.A.), the first charter by Penn to Pennsylvania, 83-85; copy of a letter to Mary Queen of Scots and a bond of Secretary Maitland, communicated by, 242-248

Alne Church, Yorkshire, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170

Alnwick, capture of, by Lancastrians (1462), 268, 269, 272, 273

Altar, pictorial symbols for, in Mexican ornamentation, 159

Ambassadors to France (1515), 299

Amber rings, found in Swiss grave-mounds, 135, 136

Amberley Church, Sussex, dedication cross at, 165

America, first colonization of, 65-67

American Indians, pottery ornamentation of, 159

Angels, figures of, used as corbels, Lincoln Cathedral, 41

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Latin note to, concerning the origin of the Æra Dionysiana, 481-482

Anglo-Saxon occupation of Lincolnshire, traces of, 175

Animal remains found at Cæsar's Camp, 450, 454-5, 456-460

Animals sculptured at Pen Selwood Church, 171; at Hognaston, 171; in Stoney Stanton Church, 176

——— sculptured on tympana, 167, 168

Ann of Warwick, marriage of, 415

Anne of Cleves, the remonstrance of, 249-264

Annunciation, group of figures of the, in Henry VII.th's Chapel at Westminster, 372

Ape, a Japanese zodiacal sign, 342

Apostles, figures of, in Henry VII.th's Chapel at Westminster, 372-3

Apparel of nuns, injunctions concerning, 53-55
Aquarius (amphora), the zodiacal sign of, 343, 345, 347, 348, 358
Aquisio, name of, 183
Ara, zodiacal sign of, 339
Arab zodiacal signs, 343
Aramaic calendar, 346-347
Archbishop, cross of, 375
Archery practice, *temp.* Eliz. 210-212
Architecture, church, 165
Gothic, English origin of, 43, 45
Norman, 161-178
of Lincoln Cathedral, 41-48
of Rothley Chapel, 95
Aries, the zodiacal sign of, 343, 344, 349, 356
Aristotle, figure of, in Henry VII.th's Chapel at Westminster, 368
Armlets, found in Swiss grave-mound, 135, 136
Armour, represented on figure found at Cæsar's Camp, 445
——— payments for, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 310
Arms of Aldborough, 185
Aske (Roger), 187
Conyers family, 198
Croy family, 264
Daunce (Sir John), 296-7
France on gold nobles, 138, 150-153
Furnival, 185
Henry VIII. at Westminster Abbey, 471 489
Hospital of St. Giles, Brompton Bridge, 185
Lascelles of Sowerby, 188
Lawson, 203
Marmion, 184, 185
Montagu, 193
Papal, 197
Penn (William), 85
Saltemarsh, 199
Army, payments for clothing of, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 328
——— standing, *temp.* Eliz., 214
Arragon (Ferdinand, King of), treaty with (1515), 305
Arrow-heads (iron) found at Cæsar's Camp, 439, 456, 457, 463; form of, in America and Europe, 160
Arrow-head, socket, found at Cæsar's Camp, 436
Arrows, used by Ethiopians in war, tied round the head, 476
Art, symbol of the radiated crown in, 476-7
Arundel (Earl of), Yorkist leader, 272
Aryan origin of fylfot pattern in ornamentation, 159; of zodiacal signs of Two Bears, 337
Ashford Church, destruction of images in, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 308
Ashley (Sir John), Yorkist leader, 273, 274
Aske (Roger), arms of, 187
Assembly (general) in Bermuda, 70-72
Assemblies (popular), James II. on, 78
Assyrians, adoption of Aramaic calendar by, 346
Aston Church, Herefordshire, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170, 171
Astun, surname of tenant at Gadesby, 103
Astrological manuscript, German, 337-360
Astronochus, zodiacal sign of, 338
Astronomical calculations, 467
Atmospheric device, early Aryan, 160
Attainder, law of, 409-428
Auchinlech ( ), Governor of the Bermudas, 81
Augustinian Abbey at Missenden, Bucks, 50-51
Ault Hucknall Church, tympanum at, 167-168
Austerfield Chapel, sculpture at, 174
Autographs of Gloucester (Richard, Duke of), 195
Maitland (Secretary), 247
Northumberland (John, Earl of), 193
Penn (W.), 85
Pole (Cardinal), 200
"Averpeny," definition of, 127, 129
Avicia de Tanfield, wife of Robert Marmion, 180, 181

B.

Babington of Dethick (family of), sale of Rothley manor to, 89
Babylonian astronomical records, 467
Bachelors, tax upon, 79
Baikbie (Bagby), grant of lands at, 246

Bailey (Alfred), some historical aspects of the English law of attainder and forfeiture for high treason, 409-428
Bailiff (the lord's), office of, 97
Bailiff of the manor of Rothley, 89
Bailiffs of the Tribes, officers of assembly of Bermuda, 71
Balance, the zodiacal sign of, *see* "Libra"
Balbgrave, lands held in, 107-108
Baltazar, the Pope's orator (1517), 305
Bamborough Castle, capture of, by Lancastrians (1462), 269, 272; by Scots (1463), 274
Barfreston Church, Kent, twelfth century painting at, 164-5
Barker (Thomas), a witness to Penn's charter, 86
Barking, tithes paid to the vicar of, *temp.* Henry VIII., 312
Barnack Church, tympanum at, 175
Barnsby, lands held in, 105-106
Baron (Rev. John, D.D., F.S.A.), on a hoard of gold nobles found at Bremeridge Farm, Westbury, Wilts, 137-156
Bartholomew's Hospital, London, *temp.* Eliz. 231-2
Barwick (Humphrey), pamphlet on use of fire-arms, 212
Bas-relief at Tarascon, 165
Basil, writer of MS. ritual ordinance of Neophytus, 1
Basil (St.), twelve canons of, 32
Basin, stone, found at Cæsar's Camp, 457, 464
Bath Place, Strand, residence of Christian II. of Denmark at, 321, 322
Battle of Baugé, *temp.* Henry V. 235
Ferrybridge, 266
Hexham, 189-190, 265, 275, 278, 282, 284, 286-294
Spurs, 236-237
Towton, 266
Baynard's Castle, Queen Margaret of Scotland at, (1516), 305
Beard of All Hallows, figure represents agricultural class, 484
——— represented on figure of St. Wilgeforte, 373
Bears (Two), zodiacal signs of, 337
Beauchamp estates, *temp.* Edw. IV. 410, 411, 416
Beaumond, knight's fee in, 130
Beckford Church, Gloucestershire, sculpture at, 172; tympanum at, 167
Beckley, Oxfordshire, Benedictine nunnery in, 50
eckwith (Geo.), Governor of the Bermudas, 81
Bedford (Francis, Earl of), pamphlet dedicated to, 210
Bedford (George, Duke of), *temp.* Edw. IV. 416, 417
Bedfordshire, *see* "Bromham." "Elstow," "Poddington"
Beggars, monastic regulations about, 31
Belamy, surname of tenant at Rothley, 100
Belton (Lincolnshire), figure of All Hallows at, 483
Benedictine nunnery in Beckley, Oxfordshire, 50; Elstow, near Bedford, 49-50
Bennett (B.), Governor of the Bermudas, 81
Benolte (Thomas), Clarencieux King at Arms, 299
Bénouville (Normandy), clench-bolts found at, 437
Bercario, surname of tenant at Rothley, 101
Berden (Walter de), 181
Bermuda Company, 76
Bermuda, constitutional history of, 65-82
Berwick-on-Tweed, surrendered to Scots (1461), 267
Bills, rules for passing in Bermuda assembly, 71-72
Binsow, manor of, held by Robert Marmion, 180
Birds sculptured at Beckford Church, 167; Little Langford Church, 176
Bishop's Wilton Church, Yorkshire, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Bishopstone Church, Sussex, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Bitton Church, Gloucestershire, early example of Holy Rood at, 168
Blacknal (William), Esquire of Queen Margaret of Scotland (1516), 304-5
Blanche Rose, or Richard de la Pole, *temp.* Henry VIII. 306
Blewbury (Berks), St. Michael's Church, tomb of Sir John Daunce in, 297-298
"Blodwyte," definition of, 126, 128
Boar (Wild), a Japanese zodiacal sign, 342
Boart, or diamond dust, 393

Bodleian MS. of Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 481-482
Boleyn, surname of tenant at Menton, 121
Boleyn (Anne), 325; ship so called, 332
Bolid, surname of tenant at Somerdeby, 111
Bolsover Church, Derbyshire, sculptured Crucifixion at, 168
Bolts (clench), *see* "Clench-bolts"
Bone whistle found at Cæsar's Camp, 439, 450, 454-5, 456, 464
Bones, carved, found at Slieve na Calliaghe, 478
——— found in Swiss grave-mounds, 135-136
Boneton, surname of tenant at Gadesby, 102
Bonstetten (Baron von), opening of grave-mounds by, 135
Bookbinding, payment for, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 335
Book-plate of Mademoiselle Térèse d'Yves, 264
Books, catalogue of, in Cyprus monastery, 6, 16-17; lost, 343; monastic regulations as to loan of, 16; printed at La Rivou Monastery (1541), 252-253
"Borwbruch," definition of, 127, 129
Boscherville, St. George's Church, sculptured figure at, 171
Bothwell's seizure of Mary Queen of Scots, 242-248
Boulaq, stone in museum at, 468
Bow, Turkish, 226
Bows, payments for, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 310
"Bovates," measures of land in Rothley manor, 91, 98
Boyvill (Elizabeth), last abbess of Elstow nunnery, (1530), 50
Braeclets (silver), found in Swiss grave-mound, 156
Bradford-on-Avon Church, Wilts, sculptured Crucifixion at, 168-169
Braithwell Church, Yorkshire, sculpture at, 174
Brattish, wooden fort so called, 452
Bray, capture of, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 318-319
Brayton Church, Yorkshire, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Bremeridge Farm, Westbury, Wilts, hoard of gold nobles found at, 137-156
Bremhill (Wilts), land in, 147
Bressay stone, sculpture on, 174
Bretforton Church, Worcestershire, sculpture at, 172
Breton names in Burgh manor charters, 180
Brezé (Piers de), a Lancastrian leader, 268, 270, 273, 274, 275, 287
Bridewell, payment for works at, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 313
Bridge (Catterick), 179, 182, 188
*Brief Notes* (Chronicle so called), on Edward IV.'s reign, 266, 271, 272, 273
*Brief Latin Chronicle*, ed. Gairdner, on Edward IV.'s reign, 266, 269, 273, 274, 276, 278
"Brigbote," definition of, 127, 129
Briott (Nicholas), graver to King Charles I. 403
Bristol Cathedral, early sculpture at, 172
British Museum, Akkadian tablet in, 346
Bromham Church, Bedfordshire, dedication cross at, 165
Brompton Bridge, Hospital of St. Giles of, 181, 182
Brompton-upon-Swale, 182
Bronze age, metal working in, 478
Bronze objects found at Cæsar's Camp, 456; in Swiss grave-mounds, 135-136; preserved in museum of Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 473-480; difference between old and new world types, 157
Brooches (bronze), found in Swiss grave-mounds, 135, 136
Brough Hall MSS. notes on, 179-204
Brough manor, documents relating to, 179-204
Broughton, knight's fee in, 130
Brown (Robert, Jun., F.S.A.), on a German Astronomico-Astrological Manuscript, and on the origin of the signs of the Zodiac, 337-360
Browne (W.), Governor of the Bermudas, 81
Bruere (George), Governor of the Bermudas, 81
Bruere (G. J.), Governor of the Bermudas, 81
Brun, surname of tenant at Rothley, 99
Brunswick (Duke of), signet of Queen Henrietta Maria in the collection of, 399-400, 405
Buchan (Earl of), signet in possession of, 398
Buckingham (George Sheffield, Duke of), monument of, in Westminster Abbey, 364
Buckingham (George Villiers, Duke of), monument of, in Westminster Abbey, 363

Buckingham (Henry, Duke of), appointed seneschall for execution of George, Duke of Clarence, 419
Buckinghamshire, *see*
Leckhampstead
Missenden
Radclive
Water Stratford
Buckles (iron) found at Cæsar's Camp, 439, 441, 447, 456, 463.
Buddha, fylfot pattern sacred symbol of, 159, 160
Building of first city, myth of, 357
Building contract, 13 Henry IV. 187
Bull, the zodiacal sign of, *see* "Taurus"
Bundleigh Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Bunting, surname of tenant at Rothley, 100
Burgesses, appointed in Bermuda, 71
Burgh family, narrative pedigree of, 179-204
Burgh (William de), grant to, 20 Edw. III. 182-183
Burgundian nobles, 145, 146
Burgundy (Duke of), gold nobles of, found at Westbury, 139, 153
Burial, early, in Switzerland, 134
"Burwlote," definition of, 127, 129
By, village names terminating in, 161, 175
"Bycocket," cap of state, 278-280
Bynbrok (Janett), grant to, 58

C.

Cables and hawsers, payments for, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 309-310
Caburn, resemblance of Cæsar's Camp to, 430-431
——— animal bones found at, 454-455
Cæsar's Camp, Folkestone, excavations at, 429-465
Calais, loss of, allusions to, *temp.* Eliz. 241
——— agreement to surrender by Margaret of Anjou, 267
Calendar, Egyptian, the antiquity of 466-470; old Greek, 468; of the Mexican year, 157
Calf sculptured at Hognaston Church, 171
Caliver, use of, in England, *temp.* Eliz. 210
Calverley (Sir Richard) alluded to, 57
Cambridge, King's College Chapel, fan tracery vaulting of, 43
Cambridge (Richard, Earl of), estates of, 412-413
Cambridgeshire, *see* "Duxford St. Johns"
Campbell (W.), Governor of the Bermudas, 81
Campion, surname of tenant at Mardefeld, 112
Cancer, the zodiacal sign of, 343, 344, 348, 357, 360
Canopus, triglot decree of, 466, 468
Canterbury Cathedral, vaulting of choir at, 47; painted ceiling at, 173
Canuwill, surname of tenant at Rothley, 100
Capital letters in Cyprus MS. 3
Capricornus [caper], zodiacal sign of, 343, 353-355, 358, 360
Carethorpe, manor of, held by Robert Marmion, 180
Carhayes, St. Michael's Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Carlos (Don), portrait of, cut on diamond, 404
Carlton in Lindrick Church, cross on tympanum at, 166
"Caruage," definition of, 127, 129
"Carucates," measures of land in Rothley manor, 91, 98
Carved stones in Ireland, 478; *see* "Bones"
Carving, enjoined as monastic duty, sixteenth century, 61
Castle Morton Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Castor Church, tympanum at, 173
Castor and Pollux, 357
Catalogue of books in Cyprus monastery, 6, 16-17
Cataractonium, site of, 182
Cathedral architecture, 41-48
Cathedrals, Bristol, 172
Durham, 169
Lincoln, 41, 169
Peterborough, 170
St. Alban's, 169
St. Paul's, London, 381-392
Winchester, 164
Worcester, 164, 170
Câtillon, *see* "Le Câtillon"

Catlik, old name of Catterick, 185
Catterick Bridge, charter for building, 179, 182, 188
——— Church, contract for erection of, 187
Caudewell, lands held in, 116-118
Cauldron (bronze), found in Swiss grave-mound, 136
Cave (Ambrose), alienation of Rothley manor to, 89
Cave habitations at San Juan, pottery from, 159
Caves of Mithras, 204-208
Celtic ornamental design, 473
Celts, comparison between those of Old World and New World, 157
Chaldean unit of time, 467
Chalk carving of human head found at Cæsar's Camp, 458, 462; dish or mould found at Cæsar's Camp, 442, 457; font found at Cæsar's Camp, 457, 462, 464
Chapel, relics of Norman, found at Cæsar's Camp, 444
Chaplain, female, instance of, 53
Character, national, allusions to, *temp.* Eliz. 209-241
Charles I., seal of, when Prince of Wales, 403
——— diamond signets of, 407, 408, 393-408
Charles V. (Emperor), visit of, to England, 314-316
Charm (word-), perhaps used on coinage, *temp.* Edw. III. 141
Charter of Penn to Pennsylvania, 83-88
Charters, notes on, belonging to Sir John Lawson, 179-204
Chester (Ranulph, Earl of), grant of soke of Rothley to, 93
Children, St. Nicholas patron of 364
"Childwyte," definition of, 127, 128
China, use of the padlock in, 445; key pattern of ornamentation in, 159; zodiacal signs of, 542
Christ, figure of, in Henry VII.th's Chapel at Westminster, 372
——— crowned with thorns, significance of, 476-477
Christ's Hospital, London, *temp.* Eliz. 231-232
Christian II. (King of Denmark), visit of, to England, 320-323
Christmas at Dacre Castle, Morpeth (1515), 304; kept by Edward IV. at Durham (1462), 271; Christmas Yule, 354
*C[h]ronicle, A Briefe*, 1561, quoted, 233
*Chronicle of Grey Friars of London*, on battle of Hexham, 285
Chronicle (Anglo-Saxon), *see* "Anglo-Saxon"
Chronology of the Dionysian cycle, 481-482; Egyptian, 469
Church discipline in Bermuda, 70
Church Service, injunction as to proper carrying out, 55-56
Churches (parish), assemblies held in, Bermuda, 73
——— number of, in England, *temp.* Eliz. 233
Churches, antiquities of, referred to—
Adel, 169, 170
Alne, 170
Amberley, 165
Aston, 170
Ault Hucknall, 167-168
Austerfield, 174
Barfreston, 164
Barnack, 175
Beckford, 167, 172
Bishopstone, 170
Bishop's Wilton, 170
Bitton, 168
Bolsover, 168
Bradford-on-Avon, 168
Braithwell, 174
Brayton, 170
Bretforton, 172
Bromham, 165
Bundleigh, 170
Carhayes, 170
Carlton in Lindrick, 166
Castle Morton, 170
Castor, 173
Catterick, 187
Climping, 165
Coleshill, 168
Coltersworth, 170
Comberton, 166

Churches, antiquities of, referred to—*continued.*
Conisborough, 177
Cottesmore, 168
Crowle, 175
Croxdale, 168
Daglingworth, 168
Danby Wiske, 175
Ditteridge, 165
Duxford St. John's, 165
Elkstone, 170
Essendine, 173
Findern, 165
Fishlake, 172
Gloucester (St. Nicholas), 170
Haddiscoe, 169
Haltham-super-Bain, 165
Handborough, 166
Headbourne Worthy, 168
Heath, 168
Hognaston, 169
Horninghold, 170
Ingleton, 169
Jevington, 172
Kempley, 165
Kilpeck, 170
Kirkburn, 169
Kirton in Lindsey, 175
Langport, 170
Leckhampstead, 178
Lenton, 168
Little Comberton, 166
Little Langford, 176
Little Paxton, 166
Londesborough, 166
Malmesbury, 168
Mintlyn, 165
Mylor, 166
Normanton, 168
North Newbald, 164
Parwich, 169
Patcham, 164
Pen Selwood, 170
Perranzabuloe, 169
Pirford, 165
Churches, antiquities of, referred to—*continued.*
Poddington, 167
Portskewit, 166
Preston, 170
Quenington, 172
Radclive, 170
Riccall, 172
Richmond (Yorks), 198
Ridlington, 174
Romsey, 168
Salford, 166
Seaford, 168
South Ferriby, 161-178
South Leigh, 166
Stanton Lacy, 166
Stoke-sub-Hamdon, 170
Stoney Stanton, 170, 176
Stottesden, 170
Stow Longa, 170
Stow of the Nine Churches, 175
Tarrant Rushton, 170
Tetsworth, 169
Teversal, 170
Thames Ditton, 170
Tintagel, 175
Tottenhill, 165
Uphill, 166
Upleadon, 170
Water Stratford, 169
Wenden, 175
Westmeston, 169
Wirksworth, 169
Wiston, 165
York (St. Lawrence), 170
York (St. Margaret), 177
Cinnamon (pound of), tenant's rent in Saxelby, 95
Circle (stone), round Swiss grave-mound, 136
Circulus Lacteus, zodiacal sign of, 338
Cissbury, resemblance of Cæsar's Camp to, 430-431
Cist (stone), carvings on, at Clover Hill, Sligo, 478
Citadel, existence of, in encampments, 432
Civilization of Egypt, duration of, 469

Clarence (George, Duke of), attainder of, 418-419; grants by, 188-189; marriage of, 414-415; estates of, 417-418
Clarencieux King at Arms, *temp.* Hen. VIII. payments to, 310
Clark (George Thomas, F.S.A.), the custumary of the manor and soke of Rothley, in the county of Leicester, 89-130
Clavering, grant of, to George, Duke ofClarence, 417
Claypoole (James), a witness to Penn's charter, 84, 86
Clench-bolts found at Cæsar's Camp, 435, 446, 457, 458, 462, 463
Finland, 437
Le Câtillon, Normandy, 437
Ozingell, Kent, 437
Scandinavia, 437
Clermont Ferrand, museum at, horse-shoe in, 451
Climping Church, dedication cross at, 165
Close Rolls, extracts from, as to currency of nobles in Flanders, 155
Clover Hill, Sligo, carved stone cist found at, 478
Coats, payment for, for army, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 328, 329, 331
Cock, a Japanese zodiacal sign, 342
Cocks, tenant's rent in Barnesley, 95, 105
Cocoa-nuts mounted with silver, monastic plate, 58
Coin of Stephen discovered at Cæsar's Camp, 436, 457, 464
Coins minted in Gaul and Britain, radiated crown on, 479; value of, *temp.* 1526, 296; *see* "Nobles"
Cole, surname of tenant at Mardefeld, 112
Coleshill Church, sculptured Crucifixion at, 168
Colonial history, Bermuda, 65-82; Pennsylvania, 83-88
Colonization of America, 65-67
Coltersworth Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Common land riots at Coventry, 324
Common Pleas, seal for, 201, 202, 203
Comnenus (Isaac), revolt of Cyprus under, 7; taking of Cyprus by, 37-38
Compton (John), 62
Concrete discovered at Cæsar's Camp, 456
Conder (Francis Roubiliac), on the antiquity of the Egyptian calendar, 466-470
Confession, rules for, 23
Conisborough Church, sculptured stone at, 177
Connecticut, popular assembly in (1684), 78
Consecration of church, ornamental symbolization of, 163-167; *see* "Dedication"
Conyers, arms of, 198
Coo (Christopher), a well-known sea captain (1515), 301, 312
Cooking-pot found at Cæsar's Camp, 439, 456
Coote (Henry Charles, F.S.A.), on the Mithraeum at Spoleto, 204-208
Copper-gilt objects found at Cæsar's Camp, 447, 449, 464
"Cordhalpeny," definition of, 127
Cormac (legendary Irish king), crown of, 479
Cornwall, *see*
Carhayes
Lanteglos
Mylor
Perranzabuloe
Tintagel
Corrodies, granting of, forbidden, 58, 59
Corvus, zodiacal sign of, 339
Cottesmore Church, sculptured Crucifixion at, 168
Court baron, descended from township, 92: three weeks court, 98
Court leet, an attribute of the soke, 92; manorial at Rothley, 92, 125-126
Coventry, insurrection at, *temp.* Henry VIII. 323-325, 333
Cow, sculptured at Hognaston Church, 171
Cowley, condemnation of, *temp.* Henry VIII. 308, 313
Crab, the zodiacal sign of, *see* "Cancer"
Crace (Mr.), collection of London engravings, 391
Crater, zodiacal sign of, 339
Crauford (Jas.), Governor of the Bermudas, 81
Crècy, horse-shoes discovered at, 452
Cremation, early, in Switzerland, 134
Crescent (iron), found in Swiss grave-mound, 136
Crofts, division of land in Rothley manor, 91, 98
Cromwell's injunctions for removal of images, 367
Cro[u]mwell (Lord), Yorkist leader, 272

Cross, ornamentation of, rarely seen in America, 157 ; sculptured symbolizations of, 172 ; symbolization of worship of, 167-9
Crosses, of an archbishop, 375 ; dedication, 165 ; ornamental at Lanteglos, 163 ; sculptured, 174
Crowle Church, lintel of, composed of Runic cross, 175
Crown, radiated, origin and significance of, 476, 479 : Irish, bronze objects supposed to belong to, 475 ; used by Kings of Ireland, 479 ; crown of thorns, 476-477
Crown, heirs to the, after Richard III. 421
Croxdale Church, sculptured Crucifixion at, 168
Croxton, lands held in, 108-109
Croy, arms of the family of, 264
Crucifixion, sculptured representations of, 168-169
Crusades, particulars of expeditions, 38
Cultures, division of land in Rothley manor, 91, 98
Culverin gun, account for purchase of (1518), 298-299
Currier, use of, in England, *temp.* Eliz. 210, 217
Custumary of the manor and soke of Rothley, Leicestershire, 89-130
Cyprus, chronology of events in (1183-1218), 7 ; condition of, thirteenth century, 37-40 ; condition of church in, 2 ; sufferings in, under Latin rule, 1-2 ; taking of, by Richard Cœur de Leon, 38-40 ; ancient earthenware of, similar to Mexican, 157; MS. of Neophytus written in, 1

D.

Dacre (Humphrey, Lord), Yorkist leader, 268
Dacre (Ralph, Lord), Lancastrian leader, 268
Dacre (Lord), warden of the English Marches (1515), 301-304
Daglingworth Church, sculptured Crucifixion at, 168
Danby Wiske Chapel, tympanum at, 175
Danes, occupation of Lincolnshire by, 175
Dartmouth, garrison recommended for, *temp.* Eliz. 222
Daunce (Sir John), accounts of money received from the Treasurer of the King's Chamber, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 295-336
Davies (Richard), a witness to Penn's Charter, 86
Day (S.), Governor of the Bermudas, 81
Days of the week, zodiacal emblematical figures of, 338
De la Pole (Richard), plots of, against Henry VIII. 306
"Dead pays," meaning of term, 311
Deal, garrison recommended for, *temp.* Eliz. 222
Debate, regulations for, in Bermuda assembly, 71-72
Decoration in Irish art, 477-478
Dedication crosses, 165 ; *see* "Consecration"
"Dedshares," meaning of term, 311
Deer, fallow, found at Cæsar's Camp, 455, 456, 457, 458
Defences of England, *temp.* Eliz. 209-241 ; systems of, 430
Dêmêtêr, cult of, 356-357
Demons represented in zodiacal signs, 339
Demonius, zodiacal sign of, 338
Demysake, use of, in England, *temp.* Eliz. 211
"Denegild," definition of, 127, 129
Denuld, surname of tenant at Caudewell, 117
Deptford, making a wharf at, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 313
Derbyshire, *see*
Ault Hucknall
Bolsover
Bundleigh
Findern
Heath
Hognaston
Normanton
Parwich
Wirksworth
Descent from the Cross, early representations of, 169
Despenser estates, *temp.* Edw. IV. 411, 412, 424
Dialect, Scottish, *temp.* Edw. IV. 191
Diamond called the "Mirror of Naples," 300 ; signet of Queen Henrietta Maria, 393-408 ; engraved work on, sixteenth century, 403-404
Diamond merchant, visit of, to Persia (1664), 396-7
Dionysian Æra, Latin note concerning, 481-482
Discipline, military, *temp.* Eliz. 213
Ditteridge Church, dedication cross at, 165

Dog, a Japanese zodiacal sign, 342 ; Jupiter attended by, in zodiacal sign, 340 ; skeleton of, discovered at Cæsar's Camp, 456
Dog Star, rising of, in the Egyptian calendar, 466, 468-469
Dogs (two), sculptured at Hognaston Church, 171
Dorsetshire, *see* " Tarrant Rushton "
Dove, sculptured on tympanum, 167
Dover, garrison recommended for, *temp.* Eliz. 222
D'Oyley family, supposed founders of Missenden Abbey, 50
Dragon, a Chinese zodiacal sign, 342
Dragon sculptured in Stoney Stanton Church, 176
Dress at tournaments, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 315 ; supplied to Queen Margaret of Scotland (1515), 303-304, 311 ; *see* " Apparel "
Drill, military, *temp.* Eliz. 213, 224
Drinking-cup found in Swiss grave-mounds, 135
Du Clercq's Chroniele on battle of Hexham, 288-289
Dublin, Petrie collection, two bronze objects in, 473-480
Dulwich College, MS. on hail-shot, 212
Dunning, surname of tenant at Rothley, 99
Dunstanborough, capture of, by Lancastrians (1462), 269, 272
Durham, *see* " Croxdale "
Durham Cathedral, mural painting of Crucifixion at, 169; vaulting at, 47
Durham Cathedral library, ancient calendar in, 360
Duxford St. John's Church, cross on tympanum at, 165

## E.

Ear pendants (bronze), found in Swiss grave-mounds, 135
Earldoms, claims of female heirs to, 410-411
Earthenware, Greek and Mexican, 159
——— vessels, found in Swiss grave-mounds, 135, 136
Ecclesiastical privileges of soke, 93
Ede, surname of tenant at Mardefeld, 110
Edington (William de), Bishop of Winchester, 144
Edmund, king and martyr, figures in Henry VII.th's Chapel at Westminster, 365, 369, 374, 378
Education, low state of, in thirteenth century, 4, 5 ; *see* " Ignorance," " Learning "
Edward Confessor, figures of, in Henry VII.th's Chapel at Westminster, 365, 369
Edward I. his wound cured by Eleanor, 260
Edward III. gold nobles of, discovered at Westbury, 138, 146, 150-153
Edward IV. inaccuracies in accounts of, 265-294
Edward (Earl of Warwick, son of George, Duke of Clarence), 420-423 ; dignities and estates of, 409-428
Edward, son of Richard III. monument to, 196
Eel (conger), remains of, at Cæsar's Camp, 455, 456, 459
Egg (bird's) discovered at Cæsar's Camp, 456
Egleton Church, font bowl found at, 173
Egypt, fylfot pattern of ornamentation unknown in, 159 ; key pattern in, 160
Egyptian calendar, the antiquity of, 466-470; Funeral ritual, 351, 352; Zodiacal signs, 341-342
Elephantina, temple in the isle of, 468
Elgiva, branding of the face of, 369
Elizabeth (Queen), political pamphlet of her reign, 209-241
Elizabeth (Queen of Edward IV.), chantry of, in Westminster Abbey, 366
Elkstone Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Elstow, or Elnstow, Benedictine nunnery near Bedford, 49-50, 51-53
Emme, surname of juror at Pylton, 109
" Encheson," definition of, 128
England, described by Neophytus, thirteenth century, 38
English, use of, in monastic injunctions, 60
English origin of Gothic architecture, 43, 45
Epigraphy, pagan, use of " suus " in, 208
Erith, payments for storehouses at, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 313
Essex, *see* " Barking," " Wenden "

Ethiopians, arrows tied round the head during battle, 476
Etruscan commerce, implements of, found in Swiss grave-mound, 134
Eudemos, *Astrological History* of, lost, 343
Excavations at Cæsar's Camp, Folkestone, 429-465; *see* "Grave-mounds"
Executions, publicity of, 419
Exeter (Duke of), Lancastrian leader, 274
Exilby, manor of, held by Robert Marmion, 180

F.

*Fabyan's Chronicle* on Edward IV.'s reign, 266, 269, 270, 273, 274, 278, 281
Fair, annual three days, granted to Rothley manor, 95
Falcon-bones found at Cæsar's Camp, 450, 455
Falmouth, garrison recommended for, *temp.* Eliz. 222
Fan-tracery vaulting, 43
Farrar (Nicholas), founder of Crown Quit-rents, Bermuda, 77
Faukes, surname of juror at Gadesby, 102, 103
Feber, surname of tenant at Mardefeld, 112
"Ferdewyte" [fyrdwyte], definition of, 127, 128
Ferriz (Peter), Bishop of Tirasso, dispensation by, 197
Ferrybridge, battle of, 266
"Ferwyte," definition of, 128, 129
Field names, 99, 114
Figure (carved in chalk) of human head found at Cæsar's Camp, 445-446, 458
Findern Church, cross on tympanum at, 165
Finger ring, *see* "Ring"
Finland, clench-bolts discovered in, 437
Fire-arms, use of, in England, *temp.* Eliz. 210-212, 217
Fish God, myth of the, 354
Fisherman's superstition, 357
Fishes, two mystic, sculptured at Hognaston Church, 171
Fishlake Church, sculptured medallion at, 172
Fitzhugh (Lord), Yorkist leader, 272
Fitz-Hugh family, progenitor of, 182
Fitz-Randolph (Henry), founder of Hospital of St. Giles, 182
Fitzwalter (John Ratcliffe, Baron), standard of, 279
Fitzwaryn (Sir Philip) succeeds to Bremeridge, 146
Flambard (Bishop), seal of, 177
Flanders, coinage of nobles in, 143, 144, 145, 155-156
Fleet, ships cruising in (1515), 301
"Flemenefurth," definition of, 127, 128
Fleming (Jane), letters of, 243
Fleming (Mary), wife of Secretary Maitland, 246
Flint flakes found at Cæsar's Camp, 438, 442, 457, 458
"Flithwyte," definition of, 127, 128
Florence, Uffizi at, diamond engraved signets at, 404
Folkestone, Cæsar's Camp at, excavations at, 429-465
Fonts, chalk found at Cæsar's Camp, 444, 457, 462, 464
  Cottesmore Church, 168
  Ingleton Church, 169
  Kirkburn Church, 169, 177
  Lenton Church, 168
  Pont à Mousson, 164
  Perranzabuloe Church, 169
  Winchester Cathedral, 163
  Zedelghem, 164
Ford (Philip), a witness to Penn's charter, 86
Forelles, sheepskins used for binding, 335
"Forstall," definition of, 127, 128
Forteseue (Sir John), Lancastrian leader, 274, 287
Fortnum (Charles Drury Edward, F.S.A.), the diamond signet of Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I. 393-408
Fountains (Abbat of), lands held by, 180
Fox (John), Abbot of Missenden Abbey (1528), 50
*Frame of Government*, by W. Penn, 83-85, 86
France, arms of, on English gold nobles, 138
——— king of, title assumed by Edward III. 143
——— trained soldiers in, *temp.* Eliz. 221
——— *see* "Pont à Mousson"

Franks (Mr.), engraved signet stone in collection of, 401
Freshfield (Edwin, F.S.A.), on the misfortunes of Cyprus, by Neophytus, and the condition of the island in his time, 37-40
Fret ornamentation in Mexico and Peru, 157-160
"Frithborwn," definition of, 127. 129
Funereal Ritual, Egyptian, 351, 352
Furniture of Dacre Castle at Morpeth (1515), 304
Furnival, arms of, 185
Fylfot ornamentation unknown in America, 157; origin, 159
Fyndern (Sir Thomas), Lancastrian leader, 272

G.

Gabriel (Angel), figure of, in Henry VII.th's Chapel at Westminster, 371
Gace, surname of tenant at Gadesby, 104
Gadesby, lands held in, 102-105
Gairdner (James), accuracy of his *Houses of Lancaster and York*, 266
Game-laws, 212, 219
Gamell, surname of juror at Barnsby, 105, 106
Garneys (Sir Christopher), account of expenses kept by (1515), 303
Garrisons recommended for certain towns, *temp.* Eliz. 222, 233
Gates (Sir Thomas), colonization of New England by, 66
Gaunte (Juliane), chantry of, 59
Gemini, the zodiacal sign of, 343, 344, 347, 348, 357, 360
Gems, zodiacal, 341, 351
Genealogy of House of York, 428; *see* "Arms"
Geological position of Cæsar's Camp, 429-432
George noble, coin, recommendation to issue (1526), 296
Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, letters of, 2-3, 39
Germany, use of the padlock in, 445
Gibson (William), a witness to Penn's charter, 86
"Gild," definition of, 127. 128
Gilt object found at Cæsar's Camp, 437, 459
Girdle (ornamental). found in Swiss grave-mounds, 135
Gislebertus (Abbot), effigy of, 177
Glass, painted, in Westminster Abbey, 376
Gloucester, St. Nicholas Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Gloucestershire, *see*
Beckford
Bitton
Daglingworth
Gloucester
Kempley
Preston
Quenington
Upleadon
Gloves (white), pair of, tenant's rent in Wartnaby, 95
Goat bones found at Cæsar's Camp, 455, 456, 459, 460: myths, 355
Goddard (Jno.) Governor of the Bermudas, 81
Gode, surname of tenant at Rothley, 99
Godmother, nuns not to stand for, 54
Godtid, surname of tenant at Rothley, 100
Godwine, surname of tenant at Barnsby, 106
Gold nobles, hoard of, found in Wilts, 137-156
Gold plate at Dacre Castle at Morpeth (1515), 304
Golle, surname of tenant at Barnsby, 105
Goose, an Egyptian zodiacal sign, 341; sacred in Egypt, 359
Goose bones, remains of, at Cæsar's Camp, 455, 456
Gori (Signor Fabio), discovery of Mithraeum by, 204-208
Gosnell (Captain Bartholomew), colonization of Virginia (1606), 66
Gothic architecture, English origin of, 43; earliest example of, at Lincoln, 45
Governors of Bermuda, functions of, 79-80; list of, 81
*Grafton's Chronicle*, on Edward IV.'s reign, 265, 266, 269, 270, 271, 273, 279, 283
Grammatical (Roman) difficulty, 208
Grave-mounds of Lunkhofen, in the canton of Aargau, Switzerland, 131-136

Great Dalby, manor of, 89
Greece, introduction of zodiacal signs into, 343; mode of computing the year in, 466, 467
Greek, calendar (ancient) quoted, 468; fret or key pattern, 159, 160; manuscript by Neophytus, 1-36
Greenwich, visit of Emperor Charles to, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 314-5
Greenwich (East), the Bermudas held *in capite* of the manor of, 67
Greg (Robert Philips, F.S.A.), the fret or key ornamentation in Mexico and Peru, 157-160
Gregorian year (the), 467
*Gregory's Chronicle* on Edward IV.'s reign, 266, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 277, 278, 281, 291
Gresham (Richard), merchant of London, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 309
"Gretbruch," *see* "Gritbruch"
Grey (Lord, of Codnor), Yorkist leader, 272
Grey (Earl), ancestor of (1462), 268
Grey (John de), changes name to Marmion, 183
Grey (Sir Ralph), a Yorkist leader, 268, 272, 273, 274, 284, 285
Grey de Wilton (Lord), Yorkist leader, 272
Greyhounds on Lancastrian seal, 201
Greystock (Lord), Yorkist leader, 272
"Gritbruch" [Gretbruch], definition of, 126, 128
Groat (coin), introduction of, into England, 144
Grymmeston, lands held in, 113-114
Gun, accounts for purchase of (1518), 298, 299, 310
Gunpowder tax (Bermuda), 76

H.

Habington's History of Edward IV. on battle of Hexham, 285
Haddington, siege of, *temp.* Edw. VI. incidents at, 237
Haddington Abbey, disposition of lands of, 246
Haddiscoe Church, sculpture at, 169
Hail-shot, use of, in England, 212, 219
Hakluyt (Rev. Richard), colonization of New England by, 66
*Hall's Chronicle, Union of York and Lancaster*, in Edward IV.'s reign, 235-237, 265, 266, 269, 270, 271, 273, 279, 283, 284
Haltham-super-Bain Church, cross on tympanum at, 165, 174
Halykeld, lands held by Avicia de Tanfield in, 180
Hamey (Dr. Baldwin), presentation of diamond signet to Charles II. by, 408
Hamilton (H.), Governor of the Bermudas, 81
Hamlin, surname of tenant at Rothley, 99
Hampshire, *see* "Headbourne Worthy," "Winchester"
Handborough Church, cross on tympanum at, 166
Hants, *see* "Romsey"
"Hangwyte," definition of, 128, 129
Harbottle Castle, Margaret of Scotland's residence there, 303
Harcourts (family of), owners of land in Rothley manor, 93; *see also* "Harecurt"
Hardyman (Dr. John), destruction of altars in Westminster by, 370
Hare, sculptured on tympana, 167; a Chinese zodiacal sign, 343
Hare bones found at Cæsar's Camp, 455
Harecurt (John de), 93, 94
Harecurt (Richard de), 93
Harecurt (William de), 93
Harquebus, use of, in England, *temp.* Eliz. 210, 217, 235
Harleian MS., a probable fictitious mention of, 308
Harness, *see* "Horse furniture"
Hasclof, surname of tenant at Somerdeby, 111
Hastings (honour of), knights fees in, 130
Hastings (William, Lord), a Yorkist leader, 268, 272
Hartshorne (Miss), signet ring belonging to, 405
Head (chalk), found at Cæsar's Camp, 458, 462, 463
Headbourne Worthy Church, early example of Holy Rood at, 168
Hearne's *Fragment of a Chronicle*, on Edward IV.'s reign, 266, 268, 270, 275, 285
Heath Church, portion of rood preserved at, 168

Hebrews, use of lunar year by, 467 ; zodiacal cult of, 355
Hedgeley Moor, battle of (1464), 278, 284
Heirs to the Crown after Richard III. 421
Helenstow, *see* "Elstow"
Hendiman, surname of tenant at Rothley, 99
Henrietta Maria (Queen), the diamond signet of, 393-408
Henry IV. seal of, 201
Henry V. 413
Henry VI. movements of, in North of England, 190 ; seal of, 190-191 ; events of his reign (later years), 266-294 ; canonization of, 364 ; figure of, at Westminster, 365, 367
Henry VII. Chapel of, at Westminster, notes on the imagery of, 361-380 ; figure in Westminster Abbey, 376 ; tomb of, 377 ; figures in the Chapel, 483-485
Henry VIII. seals of, 200-201 ; the remonstrance of Anne of Cleves, 249-264 ; accounts of money received from the Treasurer of the King's Chamber, 295-336 ; Margaret, Queen of Scotland, sister to, 300-305 ; painting discovered at Westminster of the date of, 471, 489
Heraldry, archaic myths lingering in, 357; *see also* "Arms"
Herber, mansion of, in London, 417
Herefordshire Beacon, excavations at, 435
Herefordshire, *see* "Aston," "Kilpeck," "Shobden Park"
Heron (Sir John), Treasurer of the King's Chamber, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 309
Herring-bone ornamentation, unknown in Mexico and Peru, 157
Hether, knight's fee in, 130
Hexham, battle of, 189-190, 265, 275, 278, 282, 284, 286-294
"Hidag," definition of, 127, 129
High treason, law of forfeiture for, 409-428
Highway, manor of, 147
Hilton (Olyver), bowyer of London, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 310
Hindu zodiacal signs, 343-344
Hippopotamus, an Egyptian zodiacal sign, 342
Hodierne, surname of tenant at Barnsby, 106
Hognaston Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 169 ; curious sculpture at, 171
*Holinshed's Chronicle*, chronological errors in, 265
Hollar's Plan of St. Paul's Cathedral, 382, 386, 389, 390, 391
Holy Island, landing of Lancastrian refugees (1462), 270-271
Holy Rood, early examples of, 168
Holyrood, seals of Queen Mary sold at, 395, 398
Home (Sir Alexander), safe conduct by (*temp.* 1464), 191
"Homsekene," definition of, 126
Hope (Jno.), Governor of the Bermudas, 81
"Hordell et Orest," definition of, 128, 129
"Hornchild," definition of, 127, 129
Horne, surname of tenant at Menton, 120
Horninghold Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Horre, surname of tenant at Gadesby, 103
Horse, a Chinese zodiacal sign, 342 ; flesh of, used for food, 454
Horse-furniture, found at Cæsar's Camp, 459
Horse-racing at Metz, *temp.* Henry VIII. 306
Horse-shoeing in Norman times, 450-452
Horse-shoes found at Cæsar's Camp, 439, 441, 446, 447, 448, 456, 457, 458, 459, 462, 463
Hospital foundations, *temp.* Eliz. 214, 230-232 ; of St. Giles of Brompton Bridge, 181, 182, 185
House, pictorial symbols for, in Mexican ornamentation, 159
Households (monastic), evils arising therefrom, 51
Houses, the twelve astrological, 340
Howard (Lord Edmund), 325-326
Howard (Sir J.), a Yorkist leader, 268
Hughes (Professor), opinion on Cæsar's Camp, Folkstone, 432
Human remains, *see* "Bones," "Skeletons"
Hume's account of battle of Hexham, 293
"Hundredpeny," definition of, 127, 129
Hungerford (Lord), Lancastrian leader, 269, 272, 273, 274, 283
Hunting scene sculptured in Little Langford Church, 176

Huntingdon, knights fees in, 130
Huntingdonshire, *see* "Little Paxton," "Stow Longa"
Hunton (John de), 181
Hydra, zodiacal sign of, 339

I.

Ignorance in monasteries, *temp.* sixteenth century, 60; *see* also "Learning"
Ilger, surname of tenant at Rothley, 99, 100
Imagery of Henry VII.th's Chapel at Westminster, 361-380
Images in churches, destruction of, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 308
Inclosure riots at Coventry, 324
India, use of the padlock in, 445
Indra, fylfot ornamentation appertains to, 160
"Infangthef," definition of, 126, 128
Ingleton Church, sculptured font at, 169
Inscribed altar to Mithras, 204
Inscriptions (religious) on coins, 140-141
Institutions, representative, in Bermuda, 69-82
Ireland, early ornamental design in, 473, 478, 479; radiated crown, 475; Kings of, use of crown by, 479
Iron implements found in Swiss grave-mounds, 135, 136
Iron objects found at Cæsar's Camp, 436, 438, 439, 441, 445, 447, 448
Isle of Wight, garrison recommended for, *temp.* Eliz. 222

J.

Jacobean paneling discovered at Westminster Abbey in 1882, 471
James I. first great seal of, 203
James II. action of, in colonial matters, 78
James V. of Scotland, minority of, 300-303
Janissaries, Turkish, *temp.* Eliz. 225
Jarnogon, name of, 180
Japan, key-pattern of ornamentation in, 159
Japan, zodiacal signs of, 342
Jeaffreson (Mr.), paper by, on Castle Hill, Folkestone, alluded to, 434-435
Jernegan, name of, 180
Jernegan de Tanfield, 180
Jervaulx (Abbat of), lands held by, 181, 184, 186
"*Jesus autem* . . . . " popular usage of this text, 138, 140-141
Jevington Church, sculpture at, 172
Jewels, monastic, forbidden to be sold, 59
Jewels of Charles I. 397: at Windsor Castle, 403
Jews, *see* "Hebrews"
John, of Luxembourg, author of Remonstrance of Anne of Cleves, 252
Johnson (Sir William) alluded to, 57
Jones (Inigo), work of, discovered at St. Paul's Cathedral, 382-391
Jones ( ), governor of the Bermudas, 81
Judith, wife of Waltheof E. of Huntingdon, founding of nunnery by, 49
Jupiter, zodiacal sign of, 340

K.

Kayham, lands held in, 118-120
Keelby, Lincolnshire, nunnery in, 50
Keep, existence of, in encampments, 432
Kelby, knights fee in, 130
Keller (Dr. Ferdinand, Hon. F.S.A.), The grave-mounds of Lunkhofen, in the canton of Aargau, Switzerland, 131-134
Kemble (J. M.), on bronze object in Petrie Collection, 473
Kemp (Bishop), building of Paul's Cross, 385
Kempley Church, dedication cross at, 165
Kennett's *History of England*, on battle of Hexham, 285
Kent (Earl of), Yorkist leader, 272
Kent, *see* "Barfreston," "Folkestone"
Kerry, two carved pillar stones in, 478
Key ornamentation in Mexico and Peru, 157-160

Keyser (Charles Edward, F.S.A.), On the sculptured tympanum of a former doorway in the church of South Ferriby, Lincolnshire, 161-178
Killigrew (Sir Robert), petition of, as to granting of Bermuda, 76
Kilmorie Cross, sculpture on, 174
Kilpeck Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Kings of Ireland, use of crown by, 479
Kircaldy of Grange, Margaret, letter of, 243
Kirkapoll cross, sculpture on, 174
Kirkburn Church, sculptured font at, 169, 177; representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Kirkby's inquest, 15 Edw. I. 180
Kirton in Lindsey Church, tympanum at, 175
Knife-blades, found at Cæsar's Camp, 445, 446, 448, 457, 458, 462, 463
Knights fees of Dalby and Rothley, 130
Knotte, surname of tenant at Rothley, 99, 106

L.

Laing (David), MS. volume belonging to, 1
Lake dwellings, horse-shoes discovered in, 451
Lambert (William), merchant of London, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 309
Lancastrian leaders in Wars of the Roses, *see*
Brezé
Dacre
Exeter
Fortescue
Fyndern
Hungerford
Morton
Pembroke
Percy
Roos
Somerset
Taylboys
Tunstall
Westworth
Whytlingham
Lancastrian possessions in Northumberland, 189
Land, alienations in court, 97; cultivation of, in Bermuda, 77; measurements in Rothley soke, 98; revenue of Crown from, in Bermuda, 77; *see* "Custumary"
Langport Church (Somersetshire), representation of Agnus Dei at, 170, 171
Langton, manor of, held by Robert Marmion, 180
Language, Scottish, examples, *temp.* Mary, 244, 246
Lanteglos, Cornwall, ornamented cross at, 163
Lascelles (Sir John de), 183
Lascelles of Sowerby, arms of, 188
Laton (Sir John de), 183
Latun (Richard de), charter of, 181
Lauderdale, Duke of, family papers of, 244
Laurence (Robert), 57
Laverd de Tonstal (William), 181
Law, English, of attainder and forfeiture for high treason, 409-428
Lawe, surname of tenant at Mardefeld, 112
Laws and regulations in the Bermudas, 70
Lawson, arms of, 203
Lawson (Sir John, Bart.), Notes on documents belonging to, 179-204
Le Câtillon camp, Normandy, clench-bolts found at, 437
Le Mans, museum at, horse-shoe in, 451
Leaden disc found at Cæsar's Camp, 442, 457, 464
Learning, state of, in monasteries, *temp.* thirteenth century, 4; *temp.* sixteenth century, 60
Leckhampstead Church, tympanum at, 178
Lefroy (Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Henry), On the constitutional history of the Bermudas, the oldest remaining British plantation, 65-82
Legend of Queen Eleanor sucking the wound of Edward, 260; of Queen Margaret and the Robber, 291
Leicester (honor of), knights fees in, 130
Leicestershire, *see* "Horninghold," "Rothley," "Stoney Stanton"
Leming, manor of, held by Robert Marmion, 180

Lenton Church, sculptured crucifixion at, 168, 169
Leo, zodiacal signs of, 338, 343, 345, 348, 357
Letters in Mr. Almack's collection, 243-244 ; *temp.* Hen. VIII. 326 ; to Mary Queen of Scots, 242-248 ; monastic regulations about, 31 ; notes on, belonging to Sir John Lawson, 179-204
Leyre, knights fee in, 130
"Leyrwyte," definition of, 127, 128
Libra, the zodiacal sign of, 343, 344, 345, 349-350, 358
Library, monastic, in thirteenth century, 4, 6
Lightning represented by fylfot ornamentation, 160
Limpets, remains of, at Cæsar's Camp, 455, 456, 457
Lincoln (Earl of), appointed heir to Richard III. 421
Lincoln, John Longland, Bishop of, Injunctions of, 49-64
Lincoln, St. Mary le Wigford, tympanum at, 175
Lincoln Cathedral, architectural history of, 41-48 ; grave slab of Bishop Remigius at, 169 ; sculptures on front of, 178
Lincolnshire, occupied by Danes, 175, *see*
Coltersworth
Haltham super Bain
Keelby
South Ferriby
Winteringham
Linet, surname of tenant at Somerdeby, 111
Lingard, inaccuracy of dates in his history, 266 ; his account of battle of Hexham, 293-294
Lion, sacred to Sol, 340 ; an Egyptian zodiacal sign, 342 ; *see* "Leo"
Lion, sculptured on tympana, 167 ; at Stow Longa, 171
Little Comberton Church, cross on tympanum at, 166
Little Langford Church, tympanum at, 176
Little Paxton Church, tympanum at, 166, 167, 176
Lloyd (Charles), a witness to Penn's Charter, 86
Lomb, surname of tenant at Rothley, 99, 100, 113
Londesborough Church, tympanum at, 166, 175
London, Bath Street, Strand, residence of Christian II. of Denmark at, 321, 322 ; hospitals in, *temp.* Eliz. 231-2 ; mansion of Herber in, 417 ; merchants' payments to, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 309-10 ; pageant on London Bridge, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 315 ; rent of house in Tower Street, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 311-312 ; visit of Emperor Charles to, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 315 ; of Queen Margaret of Scotland (1516), 304-5 ; *see* "St. Paul's"
Long-bow, use of, in England, *temp.* Eliz. 210-212
Longland (John), Bishop of Lincoln, Injunctions of, to certain monasteries in his district, 49-64
Longspy (Robert), 181
Lord of Misrule, injunction against admittance into nunnery, 56
Louis IX., coins of, copied by Edward III. 141
Lower House not separated from Upper House, 73-75
Lumley (Lord), Yorkist leader, 272
Lunar years, use of, 467 ; zodiacal signs, 340
Lunkhofen (Switzerland), grave-mounds of, 131-136
Lute-bearer, an Egyptian zodiacal sign, 342
Luttrell (Geoffrey), 94
Lytilgray (John), vicar of Catterik, 186

M.

Macon, surname of tenant in Warnetheby, 115
Macray (Rev. William Dunn, F.S.A.). The "Remonstrance" of Anne of Cleves, communicated by, 249-264
Magneby (Thomas de), 181
Maine, popular assembly in, 78
Maitland, Isabel, letters of, 243
Maitland, Secretary, bond of, 242-248
Malmesbury Abbey Church, sculptured crucifixion at, 168
Malta, knights of, *temp.* Eliz. 228
"Man in the moon," 340
Manfield, manor of, held by Robert Marmion, 180
Manor of Brough, documents relating to, 179-204

Manor and soke of Rothley, Leicestershire, custumary of, 89-130
Manorial terms, vocabulary of, 126-129
Manuscripts, of Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Bodleian), 481-482 ; astronomico-astrological, 337-360 ; of custumary, thirteenth century, 89 ; documents belonging to Sir John Lawson, 179-204; in Dulwich College on hail shot, 212 ; letters in Mr. Almack's collection, 243-244 ; naval tracts in British Museum, 209-210 ; of Remonstrance of Anne of Cleves, 263 ; of ritual ordinance of Neophytus, 1-36
Marc, mentioned in custumary of Rothley manor, 91
Marc (Philip), grant of lands in Rothley manor to, 94
Mardefeld (North), lands held in, 112
Mardefeld (South), lands held in, 109-110
Margaret of Anjou, campaign projects of, 267-294 ; story of, and the Robber, 286-292
Margaret (Queen of James IV. of Scotland), 300-305, 311
Margaret, daughter of G. Duke of Clarence, 423-427
Margate, garrison recommended for, *temp.* Eliz. 222
Market (weekly), grant of, to Rothley manor, 95
Marmion family, deeds relating to, 180-184 ; arms of, 184-185
Marmyon (Philip), owner of Bremeridge, 146
Martin (Charles Trice, F.S.A.), Sir John Daunce's accounts of money received from the Treasurer of the King's Chamber, *temp.* Henry VIII. 295-336
Mary I. (Queen), diamond armorial signet of, 403
Mary II. (Queen), signet rings of, 406
Mary of Modena (Queen of James II.), diamond signet of, 404
Mary, Queen of Scots, letter to, 242-248 ; signets of, 394-5, 398, 399
Mary (the Virgin), figure of in Henry VII.th's Chapel at Westminster, 372
Maryland, popular Assembly in (1684), 78
Masquerade at Greenwich, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 315
Massachusetts, popular Assembly in, 78
Mattersey (Notts), figure of All Hallows, bequeathed at, 484
Measurements of land in Rothley soke, 98
Medicinal recommendations, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 326
Menton, lands held in, 120-121
Melworby, manor of, held by Robert Marmion, 180
Mermaid, sculptured on tympanum at Stow Longa, 171
Messuages, division of land in Rothley manor, 91, 98
Metal working, art of, in bronze age, 478
Metz, residence of Rich. de la Pole at, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 306
Mexico, fret or key ornamentation in, 157-160
Micklethwaite (John Thomas, F.S.A.), Notes on the imagery of Henry VII.th's Chapel at Westminster, 361, 380; on an unexplained figure in Henry VII.th's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, 483-485
Middleham, the lordship of, 196 ; figures of saints proposed for the college at, 379 ; grant of, to Richard D. of Gloucester, 417
Middleton (John Henry, M.A. F.S.A.), on a wall paintings discovered at Westminster Abbey in 1882, 471-472, 489-90
Miklowe (John), treasurer of the King's chamber, Hen. VIII. 327
Milan, defeat of French at (1521), 237
Military defences of England, *temp.* Eliz. 209-241
Milman (Henry Salusbury, Dir.S.A.), Remarks on the first charter by Penn to Pennsylvania, 86-88 ; Remarks on letter to Mary Queen of Scots, and a bond of Secretary Maitland, 242-248
"Minn," an Irish word for diadem, 479
Minstrels (King's), payment to, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 313
Mintlyn Church, tympanum at, 165
"Mirror of Naples," diamond so called, 300
Misericorde, institution of, 51
"Mismirhing," definition of, 127, 129
Misrule, *see* "Lord of"
Missenden (Sir William de), founder of Abbey (1133), 50

Missenden Abbey, Bucks, 50-51, 60-64
Mithra, 354
Mithræum (the) of Spoleto, 204-208
Mithras, worship of, 204-208
Mohammedan year, 467
Monasteries, printing in, 253
Monastic life, thirteenth century, 5-6, 13-36; sixteenth century, 49-64
Money bills in Bermuda, 80
Monmouthshire, *see* "Portskewit"
Monstrelet's chronicles, on battle of Hexham, 288, 289, 290
Montacute estates, *temp.* Edward IV. 410, 411
Montagu, arms of, 193
Montagu (John, Lord), Yorkist leader, 267, 268, 272, 274, 277, 278, 280, 286; signature of, as Earl of Northumberland, 193, 267, 268
Months, names of, in Akkadian, 346-347
Montgomery (John), "Thinges Nedefull for this present state" (1562), 209-241
Moon, representative bust of, in Mithraic cave, 207; representation of, in zodiacal cult, 356
More (N.), a witness to Penn's charter, 86
Morlaix, capture of, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 316-317
Morpeth, Dacre Castle at, festivities at Christmas (1515), 304
Morton (Dr.), Lancastrian leader, 272
Mosse (Agnes), grant to, 58
Moustachios, wearing of, in Anglo-Norman times, 446
Mule, Arab zodiacal sign of, 343
Munceaux (Alan de), founder of Nun Cottam nunnery, *temp.* Hen. I. 50
Munsœn, clench-bolts discovered in tumulus at, 437
Mural paintings at St. Alban's Cathedral, 169; at Durham Cathedral, 169; Patcham, 169; at Westmeston Church, 169
"Murdro," definition of, 128
Musket [mosquet], use of, *temp.* Eliz. 211
Mussel, remains of, at Cæsar's Camp, 455
Mylor Church, cross on tympanum at, 166
"Mynchin," a lay sister, 54
Myrion, surname of tenant at Balbgrave, 107, 108
Myths often linger in heraldry, 357
Myword, surname of tenant at Barnsby, 106

N.

Nails, iron, found at Cæsar's Camp, 438, 439, 441
Names, Breton, in Burgh manor charters, 180
Names of manorial tenants, 90, 99
Navy, maintenance of, *temp.* Eliz. 209
Neck-rings, found in Swiss grave-mounds, 135
Neophytus, Archbishop of Cyprus, biographical account of, 2-13; ritual ordinance of, 1-36; MS. account of Cyprus by, 37
Neville estates, *temp.* Edward IV. 410, 416, 417
New England, colonization of, 66
New Hampshire, popular assembly in (1684), 78
New Jersey, popular assembly in, 78
Nichols (Robert Cradock, F.S.A.), On a Latin note to the Bodleian MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle concerning the origin of the Æra Dionysiana, 481-482
Noble, money term, still used at Warminster, 140
Nobles (gold), hoard of, found in Wilts, 137-156
——— origin of the coinage, 142, 143-145
Norfolk, *see*
Haddiscoe
Mintlyn
Tottenhill
Norham Castle, siege of, by Lancastrians (1463), 274, 277, 278
Norman architecture, 161-178; font or basin found at Cæsar's Camp, 444, 450, 457, 462, 464 names of manorial tenants, 91; pottery, 438; sculpture, 172
——— origin of Cæsar's Camp, Folkestone, 452-3
Normandy, clench-bolts found in Le Câtillon camp, 437
Normanton Church, tympanum at, 168
North Newbald Church, figured doorway, 164
Northamptonshire, *see*
Barnack
Castor
Stowe
Northumberland (John Dudley, Duke of), 320

Northumberland (John Neville, Earl of), signature of, 193
Northumberland, Lancastrian possessions in, 189
——————— *see* Alnwick
Northumbrian castles during Wars of Roses, 267
Nottinghamshire, *see*
Carlton in Lindrick
Lenton
Mattersey
Teversal
Numismatics, *see* "Nobles"
Nun Cottam monastery in Keelby, Lincolnshire, 50, 55-60
Nunnery (Benedictine) in Beckley, Oxfordshire, 50: of Elstow, near Bedford, 49-50

O.

Oaths of office in the Bermudas, 72
Ogle (Lord), Yorkist leader, 272
Olympic festivals determined by lunar year, 467
Open-field cultivation in Rothley manor, 91-92
Orger, surname of tenant at Menton, 120
Oriôn (the hero), myth of, 352
Ornamentation, in Cyprus MS, 3: fret or key in Mexico and Peru, 157-166; Celtic design, 473, 478, 479
Oseber, surname of tenant at Balbgrave, 107
Osgathorp, knights fee in, 130
Osmund, surname of tenant at Mardefeld, 112
Otewell (John), last Abbot of Missenden Abbey, 50
Ounby (Dame Margaret), chantry of, 59
"Outfangthef," definition of, 128, 129
Ox, bones of, found in Swiss grave-mound, 136
Ox, a Japanese zodiacal sign, 342
Oxford, castle of, horseshoe discovered at, 451
Oxfordshire, *see*
Beckley
Handborough
Salford
South Leigh
Swynnerton
Tetsworth
Oyster shell found at Cæsar's Camp, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460
Ozingell (Kent), clench-bolt found at, 436

P.

Pacific Islands, key pattern of ornamentation in, 159
Padlock (iron) found at Cæsar's Camp, 445, 458, 462
Page, surname of tenant at Rothley, 99
Pageant on London Bridge, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 315
Painting enjoined as a monastic duty, sixteenth century, 61
Paintings (mural) at Barfreston Church, 164-5
Durham Cathedral, 169
Patcham Church, 164, 169
St. Alban's Cathedral, 169
Westmeston Church, 169
Westminster Abbey, 471-472, 489-490
Palm Sunday, white palm leaf used on, 476
Pamphlet, political (1562), 209-241
Papal arms, 197
Paris, MSS. of Neophytus in national library of, 2
Paris (Nicolas), a printer at Troyes, 252
Parker (H. R.), descent of manor of Rothley to, 89
Parker (John Henry, F.S.A.), On the architectural history of St. Hugh's Choir in Lincoln Cathedral, 41-48
Parliament, meetings of, *temp.* Edw. IV. 276, 278, 281
Parliamentary assembly of the Bermudas, 70-72
Parwich Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 169; sculpture at, 172
Pastoral staff (early), sculpture of, 168
Patcham Church, twelfth century mural painting discovered at, 164, 169
Patent Rolls, extracts from, as to currency of nobles in Flanders, 155
Paul's Cross, excavations for foundations of, 382, 383-385
Payn, surname of tenant at Barnsby, 105, 106
Peacock (Edward, F.S.A.), Injunctions of John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, to certain monasteries in his diocese, 49-64

Peacocks (two), Arab zodiacal sign of, 343
Pedigree of Burgh family, 179-204; of Houses of York and Lancaster, 428
Pembroke (Earl of), Lancastrian leader, 269, 272, 281
Pen Selwood Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170, 171
Pendants, bronze, found in Swiss grave-mound, 136
Pendulum, invention of the, 467
Penn (W.), The first charter of, to Pennsylvania, 83-88
Pennsylvania, the first charter of Penn to, 83-88
Penrose (Francis Cranmer, F.R.I.B.A.), On the recent discoveries of portions of Old St. Paul's Cathedral, 381-392
Penny of K. Stephen found at Cæsar's Camp, 457, 464
Pepper (pound of), tenant's rent in Menton, 95
Pepysian Collection at Cambridge, engraving of Paul's Cross at, 383
Perceval (Charles Spencer, Treasurer S.A.) Notes on a selection of ancient charters, letters, and other documents from the muniment room of Sir John Lawson, of Brough Hall, near Catterick in Richmondshire, Baronet, 179-204; On certain inaccuracies in the ordinary accounts of the early years of the reign of King Edward IV. 265-294
Percy (Sir Ralph), Lancastrian leader, 269, 272, 274, 281, 282, 286
Pernnell, surname of tenant at Balbgrave, 107
Perranzabuloe Church, sculptured font at, 169
Persia, zodiacal signs of, 344-345
Peru, fret or key ornamentation in, 157-160
Peteling, knights fee in, 130
Peterborough Cathedral, remains of old roof at, 41; representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Petrie collection, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, two bronze objects in, 473-480
Philadelphia, council and assembly held by Penn at, 87
Philip the Bold, D. of Burgundy, gold nobles of, found at Westbury, 139, 143, 153
Philip II. diamond armorial signet of, 403
Philosophers, images of, in Henry VII.th's Chapel at Westminster, 367, 368, 376
Picton (Sir William), marriage of, 199
Pictures (sacred), monastic regulations as to loan of, 16
Pig, bones of, found in Swiss grave-mound, 136; remains of, discovered at Cæsar's Camp, 456; sculptured at Hognaston Church, 171
Pigeon, remains of, discovered at Cæsar's Camp, 456
Pike, use of, *temp.* Eliz. 235
Pin, found in Swiss grave-mound, 136
Pirford Church, dedication cross at, 165
Pisces, the zodiacal sign of, 339, 343, 345, 348, 358
Pitie, Our Lady of, destruction of images to, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 308
Pits in Cæsar's Camp, Folkestone, 433
Pitt ( ), governor of the Bermudas, 81
Pitt-Rivers (Major-General Augustus H. L. F., F.R.S., F.S.A.), Excavations at Cæsar's Camp, near Folkestone, conducted in June and July 1878, 429-465
Place names, 308; terminating in "by," 161, 175
"Places," division of land in Rothley manor, 91, 98
Places, surnames derived from, 90
Plate, monastic, forbidden to be sold, 58-59
"Plightwyte," definition of, 126, 128
Ploughshare, held by tenant in Barnesby, 95
Plumsted (Frans.), a witness to Penn's charter, 86
Plymouth, garrison recommended for, *temp.* Eliz. 222
Poddington Church, cross over main entrance, 167
Pole (Reginald), attainder of, 425-427; autograph of, 200
Political pamphlet, 1562, 209-241
Political use of Paul's Cross, 386
Pont à Mousson, sculpture on font at, 164
Popple (A.), governor of the Bermudas, 79, 81
Popple (W.), governor of the Bermudas, 81
Porchester Castle, storehouse built at, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 335
Portrait of Don Carlos cut on diamond, 404
Portskewit Church, cross (early) on doorway, 166

Portsmouth, garrison recommended for, *temp.* Eliz. 222 ; payment of King's workmen at, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 334
Pottery, discovered at Cæsar's Camp, 438, 441, 442, 446, 447, 448, 449, 456-460, 462, 464-5 ; ornamentation on Mexican, 159 ; works near St. Paul's, London, 384
Potsherds, found in Swiss grave-mounds, 135
Pounde (John), Somerset Herald (1516), 306
Powder Commutation Fund (Bermuda), 76-77
Powys (Lord), Yorkist leader, 272
Pre-emption, alienation custom, 97
Premonstratensian Canons, House of, at Easeby, 198
Prepositus, office of, 97, 122
Prerogative of the Crown, abuse of, 76
Preston Church, near Ledbury, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Prevost (Abbé), life of Queen Margaret, 290
Price (Hilton), assistance in excavations at Cæsar's Camp, Folkestone, 435
Priest, unknown figure of, in Henry VII.th's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, 363
Printing in monasteries, 253
Pritchard (Edward), a witness to Penn's charter, 86
Proverb, French, against the English, 241
Prudhoe Castle, grant of constableship of (1463), 188
Prynn (John), sub-dean and treasurer of Lincoln, 58
Ptolemy, astronomical observations of, 467
Pulleine (H.), governor of the Bermudas, 81
Pun, occurrence of, in Cyprus MS. 4
Purgatory, representations of, in England, 172
Puritans, destruction by, at Westminster Abbey, 377
Puteus, name for zodiacal sign of Ara, 339

Q.

Quenington Church, sculpture at, 172
Quenyngburgh, knights fee in, 130
Quern, found at Cæsar's Camp, 444, 457, 462
Quit-rent Fund (Bermuda), 76-77

R.

Radclive Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Radiated crown, *see* "Crown"
Rain, represented by key pattern, 158; by fylfot pattern, 160
Raleigh (Sir Walter), discoveries of, in America, 65-66
Ram, a Chinese zodiacal sign, 342
Rapin's account of battle of Hexham, 292
Rastell's Chronicle on battle of Hexham, 285
Rat, a Japanese zodiacal sign, 342
Reformation, Paul's Cross used at, 386
Relic Table, Cæsar's Camp, Folkestone, 456-460
*Remonstrance of Anne of Cleves*, 249-264
Renaissance work at Westminster Abbey, 377
Rent of place in Tower Street, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 311-312 ; of land, in Rothley manor, 91, 96-97
Remigius (Bishop), grave-slab of, at Lincoln Cathedral, 169
Representative institutions in Bermuda, 69-82
Rhætia, no grave-mounds found in, 135
Rhiwallon, name of, 180
Rhode Island, popular Assembly in (1684), 78
Riecall Church, medallion at, 172
Richard, Earl of Gloucester, marriage of, 415
Richard Cœur de Lion, capture of Cyprus by, 7, 38-40
Richard II. gold nobles of, discovered at Westbury, 139, 146, 152-153
Richard III. [Duke of Gloucester], deed for covenant to serve, 195
Richard III. seal of, 201 ; heirs to the Crown after, 421
Richier (Isaac), governor of the Bermudas, 81
Richmond (Earl of), lands held by, *temp.* John, 180
Richmond (Richard de), possession of Burgh manor, 184

Richmond and Somerset (Henry Fitzroy, Duke of), 332
Richmond (Yorks.), tower of Grey Friars Church there, 198
Ridlington Church, sculpture at, 174
Ring found in Swiss grave-mound, agate, 136; amber, 135-136; bronze, 136
Rings, diamond signet, 393-408
Ritual Ordinance of Neophytus, 1-36
Rivou (La), monastery, printing in, 253
Roald, name of, 180
Roaldus, Constable of Richmond Castle, 181
Roanoke Island, colonization of (1584-1586), 65-66
Rods, measures of land in Rothley manor, 91, 98
Rokeby (Sir Thomas de), 183
Roman Catholic religion, precluded by colonists, 69
Roman remains discovered at Castle Hill, Folkestone, 434; at Le Câtillon Camp, Normandy, 437; in Swiss grave-mounds, 135
Roman road from York, 182; padlock, 445
Romanesque doorhead at South Ferriby Church, 161
Romsey Abbey Church, sculptured crucifixion at, 168
Roof, remains of old, at Peterborough and Lincoln, 41
Roos (Lord), Lancastrian leader, 272
Roscrea, St. Cronan's Church at, 173
Roses, Wars of, incidents in, 265-294
Rothley, Leicestershire, custumary of the manor and soke of, 89-130
Rouen, loss of, allusions to, *temp.* Eliz. 241
Ruallus, name of, 180
Rudyard (Tho.), a witness to Penn's charter, 86
Runic crosses in Lincolnshire churches, 175
Ruthal (George), tomb of, in Westminster Abbey, 366
Rutlandshire, *see*
Cottesmore
Egleton
Ridlington

S.

Sabyn (William), merchant of London, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 310, 312
Sagittarius [Arcitenens], zodiacal sign of, 338, 343, 345, 348, 353, 358
Saints (patron), figure of, to be placed in chancel, 484; popular in England during Middle Ages, 376, 379-380
Saints, figures of, in Henry VII.th's Chapel at Westminster,
Agatha, 370
Ambrose, 374, 378
Andrew, 371
Anne, 371
Anthony, 369
Apollonia, 366
Augustine, 370, 378
Barbara, 373
Bartholomew, 372
Christopher, 365, 366
Cuthbert, 374
Denis, 366
Dorothy, 365, 373
Dunstan, 369
Elizabeth, 373
Eloy, 374
Erasmus, 366, 369
George, 375, 377
Germain, 369
Giles, 369
Helen, 374, 378
Hugh of Lincoln, 369
James the Great, 371
James the Less, 371
Jerome, 364, 373
John the Baptist, 370
John the Evangelist, 370, 371
Jude, 372
Katherine, 366, 371, 378
Lawrence, 363, 370
Luke, 370
Margaret, 366, 371
Mark, 374
Martin, 368
Mary Magdalene, 365, 373
Matthew, 371, 374
Matthias, 372

Saints, figures of, in Henry VII.th's Chapel at Westminster—*continued*
Nicholas, 364, 374
Oswald, 374
Paul, 366, 372
Peter, 365, 371
Philip, 372
Richard of Chichester, 375
Roch, 365, 368
Sebastian, 364, 374
Simon, 372
Stephen, 363, 370
Sythe, 374
Thomas, 371
Thomas, of Canterbury, 365, 375
Uncumber, 373, 378-9
Vincent, 364, 369
Wilgeforte, 373
Winifred, 371
St. Alban's Abbey, printing in, 253
St. Alban's Cathedral, mural painting of crucifixion at, 169
St. Cronan, effigy of, 173
St. Cross, vaulting at, 47
St. Faith's Church (London), 390
St. Francis, seal, representation of, 198
St. George and Dragon, sculpture of, 177
St. Giles, seal representation of, 185
St. Hugh's Choir in Lincoln Cathedral, architectural history of, 41-48
St. John of Jerusalem (order of), grant of manor of Rothley to, 89 ; knights fees held of the prior of, 130
St. Margaret, sculptured representation of legend, 172
St. Michael, representations of, 172
St. Nicholas, dedications to, 161-164, 170, 176
St. Paul's Cathedral (old), On the recent discoveries of portions, 381-392
St. Petersburg, diamond engraved signets at, 404
St. Thomas's Hospital, London, *temp.* Eliz. 231-232
St. Walery (Bernard de), founder of Benedictine nunnery, *temp.* Hen. II. 50
Salford Church, cross on tympanum at, 166
Salisbury estates, *temp.* Edw. IV. 411, 416, 418
Saltemarsh, arms of, 199
" Sake " [sac], definition of, 126, 128
*Sanctiori Anglorum Concilio exhibita*, 1707, note on, 308
Sanney, surname of tenant at Gadesby, 102
Saturn, zodiacal sign of, 339-340
Saxilby, lands held in, 114
Saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon, 168-169
Say (Lord), Yorkist leader, 272
Scales (Lord), Yorkist leader, 272
Scalford, knights fee in, 130
Scandinavia, use of the padlock in, 445 ; origin of discovered clench-bolts in, 437
Sclewill, surname of tenant at Menton, 120
" Scot," definition of, 127, 128
Scotland, seizure of Mary, Queen of, 242-248
Scotland, French influence in, *temp.* Eliz. 238 ; gold nobles introduced into, 145 ; dialect of, document written in, *temp.* Edw. IV. 191
Scorpio, the zodiacal sign of, 343, 345, 347, 351-352, 358, 360
Scrope (Lord), Yorkist leader, 272
Scrope (Richard le), seal of, 187
Scut, surname of tenant at Rothley, 100
Seaford Church, sculptured crucifixion at, 168
Seals to charters, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 191, 193, 194, 197, 198, 200, 201, 202, 203 ; of Bishop Flambard, 177 ; of Queen Henrietta Maria, 402, 403 ; on treaty with Denmark, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 322
Sculpture of crucifixion, 168-169 ; stones in Ireland, 478 ; *see* " Saints," " Tympana "
Sedumensis (Cardinal of), *see* " Sion "
Sele (Sir William), alluded to, 57
Sems, surname of tenant at Somerdeby, 111
Seneschall of England, office of, *temp.* Edward IV. 419
Sepulchral memorials, *see* " Grave-mounds "
Sermons, MS. volume of, by Neophytus, 2 ; at Paul's Cross, 386
Serpent, a Chinese zodiacal sign, 342
Servants in nunneries, great excess of, 55, 57
Seton (Marie), letter of, 243
Shackwell, knights fee in, 130

Sheep bones found at Cæsar's Camp, 454, 456, 460; in Swiss grave-mound, 136
Sheriff Hutton, grant of, *temp.* Henry VIII. 415; to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, 417
Sheriff Hutton Church, monument to son of Richard III. 196
Ship fittings, payments for, *temp.* Henry VIII. 309-310, 313
Ship-keepers in the Thames, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 310, 311
Ships, description of, used by Richard I. on his journey to Holy Land, 40; *temp.* Hen. VIII. 301, 311, 312, 314, 316
Shobdon Park, Herefordshire, Norman sculptured arch at, 172
*Short English Chronicle*, on battle of Hexham, 285
Shropshire, *see*
Stanton Lacy
Stottesden
Sickle of the Greek Kronos, 340
Signature, facsimile, of Maitland (Secretary), 247
Northumberland (John, Earl of), 193
Penn, William, 85
Pole, Cardinal, 200
Signet (diamond) of Queen Henrietta Maria, 393-408
Silver bracelets and brooches found in Swiss grave-mound, 136
—— plate at Dacre Castle at Morpeth (1515), 304
Singing hymns in public for money, *temp.* Henry VIII. 306
Sion, Cardinal, *temp.* Henry VIII. 306-308, 311
Siren, sculptured, on tympanum at Stow Longa, 171
Sirich (Syrich), surname of tenant at Croxton, 108
Sirius, *see* "Dog star"
Skeletons discovered at Le Châtillon Camp, Normandy, 437; in Swiss grave-mounds, 135, 136
Skevyngton (Sir William), master of ordinance, *temp.* Henry VIII. 310, 318
Skipton Castle, capture of, by Lancastrians (1464), 278
Skipworth, Lincolnshire family of, 50
Slieve na Calliaghe, Ireland, carved bones found at, 478
Sligo, Clover Hill, carved stone cist found at, 478
Slithurse (John), 64
Sluys, naval victory off, 1340, commemorated on coins, 140, 142, 144
Smacks used by Richard I. in his journey to Holy Land, 40
Smythe (Sir John), pamphlet on use of weapons by, 211
Socage tenure, 92
Socrates, head of, incised on gem stone, 404
"Soke," definition of, 92, 126
Soke (manor and) of Rothley, Leicestershire, custumary of, 89-130
Sol, zodiacal sign of, 340
Soldiers, treatment of, *temp.* Eliz. 213, 220-221
Somer Islands, company for the plantation of, 68
Somerdeby, lands held in, 111
Somers (Sir George), colonization of New England by, 66
Somerset (Edmund, Duke of), Lancastrian leader, 275
Somerset (Edward, Duke of), 319
Somerset (Henry, Duke of), Lancastrian leader, 269, 272, 278, 281, 282-284
Somerset Herald, payments to (1516), 306, 310
Somersetshire, *see*
Langport
Pen Selwood
Stoke-sub-Hamdon
Uphill
Sothis, feast of, date of, 466, 468
South Cave, Yorkshire, figure of All Hallows at, 483
South Ferriby, sculptured tympanum at church of, 161-178
South Leigh Church, cross on tympanum at, 166
Southwark, hire of house in, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 333
Sowle (Andrew), a witness to Penn's charter, 86
Spain, use of firearms in, *temp.* Eliz. 218
Sparewe, surname of tenant at Ballgrave, 108
Spartans, use of white palm-leaf by, in battle, 476
Speaker (or secretary) in Bermuda Assembly, 71
Speaking, rules for, in Bermuda Assembly, 71
Spec, surname of tenant at Grymmeston, 113
Spellings, curious, sixteenth century, 51-64; *temp.* Eliz. 215-241; Scottish, *temp.* Mary, 244, 246
Spindle-whorl found at Cæsar's Camp, 445, 457, 464; in Swiss grave-mounds, 135

Spirals (bronze), found in Swiss grave-mounds, 135
Spoleto, the Mithraeum of, 204-208
Spottiswoode's (Archbishop) *History of the Church of Scotland* (1655), 245
Springelt (Harb.), a witness to Penn's charter, 86
Spurs, battle of, incidents at, 236-237
"Stallage," definition of, 128
"Stalling," definition of, 129
Stamping work on bronze objects, 474, 478
Stanton Lacy Church, cross (early) over doorway, 167
Starkey (Elizabeth), abbess of Elstow nunnery, (1529), 50
"Stenth" [stent], meaning of word, 191
"Stenyng," definition of, 127
Step-pattern of ornamentation in Mexico and Peru, 158, 159
Stephen (King), coin of, found at Cæsar's Camp, 436, 450, 457, 464
Stodely, Benedictine nunnery in Beckley, Oxfordshire, 50, 54-55
Stodhaw (Robert de), 183
Stoke-sub-Hamdon Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Stokes (Miss Margaret), On two bronze fragments of an unknown object, portions of the Petrie Collection, in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 473-480
Stone implements, difference between old- and new-world types, 157; circle round Swiss grave-mounds, 136; sculptures in Ireland, 478; *see* "Arrow-heads"
Stonemason's wages, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 312
Stoney Stanton Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170; tympanum at, 176
Stork's flesh, medicinal remedy, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 326
Stormesworth, knights fee in, 130
Stottesden Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Stow Longa Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170; curious sculpture in, 171
Stowe of the Nine Churches, tympanum at, 175
Strange (Lord), Yorkist leader, 272
Strickland (Miss), Life of Queen Margaret of Anjou, 286-291
Studley, *see* "Stodely"
Sueyn, surname of tenant at Gadesby, 102
Suffolk (Charles Brandon, Duke of), 299, 300
Suffolk (Duke of), commander of English army, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 317
Suffolk, *see* "Wiston"
Sun, representation of, in zodiacal cult, 356, 358, 359-360; representative bust of, in Mithraic cave, 207
Surnames not in general use, 90-91
Surrey (Earl of), commander of English army, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 316
Surrey, *see*
Pirford
Thames Ditton
Sussex (Duke of), a MS. of, 210
Sussex, *see*
Amberley
Bishopstone
Climping
Jevington
Patcham
Seaford
Westmeston
"Suus," on the use of the word, 208
Swanscombe Church, padlock found in, 445
Sweyn, surname of juror at Gadesby, 102
Swiss, wars of, against France, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 307
Switzerland, grave-mounds in, 131-136
Sword (two-edged), found in Swiss grave-mound, 136
Sword of Saturn, 340
Swyncombe Church, dedication cross at, 165
Swynford, knights fee in, 130
Symbolic nature of key or fret ornamentation, 159
Symbolism in ecclesiastical architecture, 162-163
Synythwayt (Joan de), 183

T.

Tailor, payments to, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 311
Tanfield, East, manor of, held by Robert Marmion, 180
Tanfield, West, manor of, held by Robert Marmion, 180

Taraseon, bas-relief at, 165
Tarrant Rushton Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Taurus, the zodiacal sign of, 343, 344, 347, 348, 356-357
Tavernier (Jean Baptiste), diamond merchant (1664), 396-7
Tavistock monastery, printing in, 253
Taxation in Bermuda, 76-77; in Cyprus, under Latin rule, 1
Taylboys (William), a Lancastrian leader, 268
Taylor (Aucher Cornwall), communicates "Thinges Nedefull for this Present State," by John Mountgomery (1562), 209-241
Taylor (Christopher), a witness to Penn's charter, 84, 86
"Team," definition of, 128
Temple (Order of the), grant of manor of Rothley to, 89, 94; abolition of, 95
Tenery, surname of tenant in Warnetheby, 115
Tenures of land, *see* "Custumary"
Terra-cotta statue of Mithras, 207
"Tethingpeny," definition of, 127, 129
Tetsworth Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 169, 171; tympanum at, 177
Teversal Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Thames Ditton Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
"Them" [team], definition of, 126, 128
Thompson (Edward Maunde, F.S.A.), Preface and Notes to "Thinges Nedefull for this Present State," by John Mountgomery (1562), 209-241
Thomson (George), 58
Thorns, crown of, 476-477
Tiger, a Chinese zodiacal sign, 342
Time, means of measuring, 467
Tintagel Church, tympanum at, 175
Tobacco (Bermuda), 69
Todde (Elizabeth), grant to, 58
"Tofts," division of land in Rothley manor, 91, 98
Toison d'Or, king-of-arms to Prince of Castile, reward to (1516), 306
"Tol," definition of, 126, 128
Toland (John), book published by (1707), 308
Tomb of Henry VII. at Westminster, 377
Tompson (Johanna), last prioress of Nun Cottam nunnery, 50
Tonge (Thomas), York Herald (1517), 305, 310
Tortoise, symbol of domestic chastity, 339
Tottenhill Church, cross on tympanum at, 165
Tournament at Greenwich, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 315
Tournay, rebellion in (1515), 308-9
Tower of London, wages paid for repairs at, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 312, 313
Township, court baron descended from, 92
Towton, battle of, 266
Trade, surnames derived from, 90
—— monopolies in the Bermudas, 69
Tramontane, a zodiacal name for Ursa Minor, 337
Transport (Army), payments for, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 328, 331
Travelling allowances to king-at-arms (1515), 299
Treason (High), *see* "High"
Treaties with England and Arragon (1515), 305; Castile (1516), 306; Emperor Charles V. 316; with Denmark, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 322; with Emperor Maximilian (1516), 307
Trimingham ( ), Governor of the Bermudas, 81
Trott (La Dame), mentioned in French romance, 291
Tucker ( ), Governor of the Bermudas, 81
Tunstall (Sir Richard), Lancastrian leader, 272, 273
Tumuli, *see* "Grave-mounds"
Turks, power of, *temp.* Eliz. 213, 224, 225, 226
Turner (Robert S.), MS. volume in library of, 263
Turner (Sharon), account of battle of Hexham by, 294; accuracy of, as an historian, 266
Twins (The), zodiacal sign of, *see* "Gemini"
Tyle, surname of tenant at Rothley, 100
Tylton, lands held in, 109
Tympana on doors of churches—
Aston, 170, 171
Ault Hucknall, 167
Austerfield, 174
Barnack, 175
Beckford, 167, 172

Tympana on doors of churches—*continued.*
Bolsover, 168
Braithwell, 174
Bundleigh, 170
Carhayes St. Michael, 170
Carlton in Lindrick, 166
Castle Morton, 170
Castor, 173
Croxdale, 168
Danby Wiske, 175
Duxford St. John's, 165
Elkstone, 170
Essendine, 173
Finden, 165
Gloucester, St. Nicholas, 170
Haltham-super-Bain, 165, 174
Handborough, 166
Hognaston, 169, 171
Kirton in Lindsey, 175
Langport, 170, 171
Leckhampstead, 178
Lincoln, St. Mary le Wigford, 175
Little Comberton, 166
Little Langford, 176
Little Paxton, 166, 167, 173, 175, 176
Londesborough, 166, 175
Mintlyn, 165
Mylor, 166
Normanton, 168
Parwich, 169, 172
Preston, 170
Quenington, 172
Ridlington, 174
Salford, 166
Shobdon Park, 172
South Ferriby, 161-178
South Leigh, 166
Stoke-sub-Hamdon, 170
Stoney Stanton, 170, 176
Stow Longa, 170, 171
Stow of the Nine Churches, 175
Tarrant Ruston, 170
Tetsworth, 169, 171, 177
Tintagel, 175
Tympana on doors of churches—*continued.*
Tottenhill, 165
Uphill, 166
Upleadon, 170
Water Stratford, 169
Wenden, 175
Tynsen, gown cloth of, for Queen Margaret of Scotland (1515), 304

U.

Unwine, surname of tenant at Barnsby, 106
Uphill Church, cross on tympanum at, 166
Upper House, not separated from Lower House, 73-75
Upleadon Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Upsala, clench-bolts discovered in tumulus near, 437
Urn, found in Swiss grave-mound, 136
Ursa Major, zodiacal sign of, 337
Ursa Minor, zodiacal sign of, 337

V.

Vaccaries, or dairy farms, 195
Vaulting, fan-tracery, 43
Vaults of Lincoln Cathedral, 41-42, 44, 46
Venus, zodiacal sign of, 339
Verdon (Theobald), 139
Vessels (sacred), monastic regulations as to loan of, 16
Vestments, fragments of early, found at Worcester Cathedral, 164, 170
"Virgates," measures of land in Rothley manor, 91, 98
Virginia, formation of Company, 66-67; colonization of (1584), 65-66; first general assembly in, 69; popular assembly in, 78
Virgo, zodiacal signs of, 338, 343, 345, 348, 357
Viseecunte, surname of tenant at Rothley, 100
Vocabulary of manorial terms, 126-129
Vyey, surname of tenant at Rothley, 101

W.

Wages for agricultural services, 97 ; of sailors, &c., *temp.* Hen. VIII. 311, 312, 314
Walcote, knights fee in, 130
Waldeby (John de), 181
Waleis, surname of tenant at Caudewell, 117
Walkelm, surname of tenant at Rothley, 99
Wall paintings discovered at Westminster Abbey in 1882, 471-472, 489-490
Walling of fortresses in Norman times, 452
Walton-Ysley, knights fee in, 130
Walwyn (Francis), a gem engraver (1629), 393-4, 403
"Wapentakle," definition of, 127, 129
"Warda," definition of, 128, 129
Warde (Sir John), alluded to, 57
"Wardpeny," definition of, 128, 129
"Wardwyte," definition of, 127, 129
Warin, surname of tenant at Rothley, 100
*Warkworth's Chronicle on Edward IV.'s Reign*, 265, 266, 271, 273, 280, 281, 286
Warminster, money term of noble still used in, 140
Warnetheby, lands held in, 115-116
Warren (Rev. Frederick Edward), On the "Ritual Ordinance" of Neophytus, 1-36
Wars against France, 316-320; *temp.* Hen. VIII. expenses paid for, 309-312, 327
Warwick (Earl of), Yorkist leader, 272, 273, 274, 277, 280
Warwick (Edward, Earl of), *see* "Edward"
Warwick (Richard, Earl of), estates of, 410-411; title of, 412, 415-8
Warwick, Earldom of, *temp.* Edw. IV. 419
Warwickshire, *see* "Coleshill"
*Wassebourg (Richard de), chronicle of, temp.* Edw. IV. 275, 287
Water, key ornamentation, symbol of, 157
Water Stratford Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 169
Water-work, method of wall decoration, 490
Wathe, manor of, held by Robert Marmion, 180
Waytegood, surname of tenant at Rothley, 99, 100
Weapons, use of, in England, *temp.* Eliz. 210-212
Wedge (iron), found at Cæsar's Camp, 441, 456, 463
Well found at Cæsar's Camp, 439-441
Wenden Church, tympanum at, 175
Wenlok (Lord), Yorkist leader, 272
Wentworth (Sir Philip), Lancastrian leader, 272
West (Dr. Nicholas), ambassador to France (1515), 299
Westbury, Wilts, hoard of gold nobles found at, 137-156
Westmeston Church, mural painting at, 169; representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Westminster Abbey, effigy of Abbot Gislebertus in, 177 ; sculptured legend of St. Margaret in, 172 ; fan tracery vaulting of Henry VII.th's Chapel, 43, 47; notes on the imagery of Henry VII.th's Chapel, 361-380, 483-485; wall painting discovered at, 471-472, 489-490
Westmoreland (Ralph, first Earl of), family of, 410
Westwick (John), last abbot of Missenden Abbey), 50
Wheatsheaf, Arab zodiacal sign of, 343
Whelks, remains of, at Cæsar's Camp, 455. 456, 457, 458
Wheston, knights fee in, 130
Whighill (Martin), 50, 55 ; *see* "Whygill"
Whistle, bone, found at Cæsar's Camp, 439, 456, 464
Whygill (Alice), prioress of Stodely nunnery (1529), 50
Whyttingham (Sir Robert), Lancastrian leader, 269, 272, 273
Wilberforce family, original seat of, 417
*William Wyrcestre's Chronicle*, on Edward IV.th's reign, 266, 268, 269, 271, 272, 273, 275, 276, 280, 281, 291
Wiltshire, *see*
Bradford-on-Avon
Bremhill
Ditteridge
Little Langford
Malmesbury
Warminster
Westbury

Winchester Cathedral, sculpture of St. Nicholas on font, 163
Windsor, treaty of, *temp.* Hen. VIII. 316
——— Castle, private collection of gems and jewels at, 403
——— St. George's Chapel, fan tracery, vaulting of, 43
Windsor Herald, payments to (1517), 305, 310
Wingandacoa, discovery of (1584), 65
Wingate (Dame Katherine), nun in Elstow nunnery (1539), 50; chaplain to Abbess of Elstow, 53
Wingfield (Sir Richard), ambassador to France (1515), 299
Wingfield (Robert), surveyor, *temp.* Edw. IV. 189
Winteringham, Lincolnshire, estates of Robert Marmion at, 180
Winthrop (Hon. Robert), On Penn's Charter to Pennsylvania, 83
Wirksworth Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 169
Wiseman, surname of tenant at Grymmeston, 113
Wiseman (Cardinal), purchase of signet ring of Queen Mary of Scotland by, 399
Wistow Church, dedication cross at, 165
Witey, surname of tenant at Rothley, 101
Witham Church, vaulting of, 48
Women, regulations against admission of, to monasteries, 21, 31; not punished by death for high treason under Plantagenets, 418
Wooden covers of Cyprus MS. 3
Woodford, Essex, wall paintings at, 490
"Woodwos," or savage men, a masquerade character, 315
Worcester (Earl of), Yorkist leader, 272, 277
Worcester Cathedral, fragments of early vestments found at, 164, 170: representation of Agnus Dei at, 170
Worcestershire, *see*
Bretforton
Castle Morton
Little Comberton
Worcester
Wride, surname of tenant at Rothley, 100
Writing, enjoined as monastic duty, sixteenth century, 61
Wylie (William Michael, F.S.A.), Translation of a communication by Dr. Ferdinand Keller on the grave-mounds of Lunkhofen, in the canton of Aargau, Switzerland, 134-136
Wyrcestre (William of), *see* "William"

Y.

Year, modes of computing the, 466-467
Yebleron (near Rouen), horse-shoe, Norman, discovered at, 451
York, St. Lawrence-extra-Walmgate Church, representation of Agnus Dei at, 170; St. Margaret's Church, sculptured figures at, 177; signs of zodiac upon, 360
York (Dukedom of), merged in the Crown, 413-4; descent of, 412; succession to, *temp.* Henry VII. 423
York Herald, payments to (1517), 305, 310
York (House of), genealogy of, 428
Yorkist leaders in Wars of Roses, *see*
Arundel
Ashley
Dacre
Cromwell
Fitzhugh
Grey (Sir Ralph)
Grey (Lord)
Grey de Wilton
Greystock
Hastings
Howard
Kent
Lumley
Montagu
Ogle
Powys
Say
Scales
Scrope
Strange
Warwick
Wenlock
Worcester

Yorkshire estates of Ralph, first Earl of Westmoreland, 410
Yorkshire, *see*
Adel
Alne
Austerfield
Bishops Wilton
Braithwell
Brayton
Brompton-upon-Swale
Conisborough
Danby Wiske
Fishlake
Ingleton
Yorkshire—*continued.*
Kirkburn
Londesborough
North Newbold
Riccall

Z.

Zedelghem, sculpture on font at, 164
Zig-zag ornamentation rare in Mexico and Peru, 157
Zodiac, origin of the signs of, 337-360
Zouche (Willielmo la), 130
Zurich Society of Antiquaries, opening of grave-mound by, 135-136

DA
20
A64
v.47
pt.2

Archaeologia

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY